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W. Barclay in Missouri
1887.

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DOMINION ELECTION.

CAMPAIGN OF 1887.

SPEECHES

—BY—

HON. EDWARD BLAKE

ON THE POLITICAL QUESTIONS OF THE DAY,

delivered in the Province of Ontario, subsequent
to the Prorogation of the Federal Parlia-
ment, June, 1886, and previous to
its Dissolution, Jany., 1887.

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THE LONDON BANQUET SPEECH.

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE SITUATION.

NORTH-WEST MALADMINISTRATION.

RIEL'S EXECUTION.

"I DO NOT PROPOSE TO CONSTRUCT A POLITICAL PLATFORM OUT OF THE REGINA SCAFFOLD, OR TO CREATE OR CEMENT PARTY TIES WITH THE BLOOD OF THE CONDEMNED."

Mr. BLAKE was in Europe at the time of Riel's execution, and for some time afterward. Upon his return a banquet was given in his honour at London, on 14th January, 1886.

Mr. Blake rose amid tremendous cheering and spoke as follows :

I thank you, from my inmost heart I thank you, for the warmth and cordiality of your reception. I know it to be far beyond any poor deserts of mine; but it is another and most marked expression of that continuous, abiding and unbounded kindness and confidence which have been shown me by the Liberal party for these many years, and especially during those dark and trying times which have passed since I took the lead. Will you allow me to use this, my first available opportunity, to congratulate the Liberals of Ontario on the activity they are now displaying; AND PARTICULARLY TO EXPRESS MY JOY AT THE ENERGETIC CONDUCT AND SUCCESSFUL ORGANIZATION OF THE YOUNG LIBERALS—(hear, hear)—and to return my grateful thanks for the honour done me by my election to the honorary presidency of their great convention, a gathering from which I expect the best results. I declare, Sir, that it would be as impossible for my friends and supporters in and out of Parliament to surpass, as it is for me to repay their goodness. It has cheered and sustained me through many gloomy and some stormy hours, and I can never forget it while I live. You know, gentlemen, I have never concealed it from you, that it was with reluctance I accepted the lead. High and honourable as that post is, I never coveted it; it suits me in no one of its relations to my life; I am deeply conscious how inadequately I fill it; and I grow each year more anxious to return to the ranks. I am told by some Ministerial

organs, which, of course, have very confidential relations with the Opposition—(laughter)—that my wishes are seconded by a considerable number of my friends. (No, no.) I am glad to know it, and I wish that our community of sentiment in this matter might lead that contingent to so far confide in me as to concert measures to accomplish our common end. If they would accept me as their leader for this purpose only, perhaps we might, so united, make more progress towards the desired end than we have done hitherto. (Laughter.) I am not in the habit of offering myself for office, but I make an exception in their favour, and shall expect their reply! (Laughter.) Meantime, as this is a question, not of measures, but of men, they and I, as good party men, must try and subordinate our views for the moment to those of the majority, in the hope that by continuous pressure we may convert them in good time to our opinions. (Laughter.)

To be serious, gentlemen, I trust that at no distant day you will relieve me, and meantime I will do my best, so far as health and abilities allow, to serve you in the place you impose upon me. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

During the last few years many great struggles have taken place, and the opposing parties have developed their views on various important public questions. Let me run rapidly over the roll and recall to you some of these issues, so that you may judge of the claims of each side to public confidence and support. Try the Government, as I often told you, by their promises and their performances. There can be no fairer test.

Let us look at the

FISCAL AND FINANCIAL POLICY.

They declared Mr. Mackenzie's expenditures too high, and promised to reduce it. They have increased it about fifty per cent. They declared his taxation burdensome, and promised not to raise it. They have raised it about fifty per cent. They condemned his taxation as unequal, and promised to readjust it. They have redressed the inequality by imposing great sectional taxes, enormous burdens on prime necessities of life, and rates of duty on important staples used by the poor about twice as high as those laid on the rich. They declared his deficits scandalous and disastrous, but *notwithstanding the vast increase in taxes they have produced magnificent deficits of their own.* (Hear, hear.) And think for a moment what those deficits would be, had you still the misfortune to be taxed as lightly as in Mr. Mackenzie's time. Think of it, and measure the failure of these men in finance! They blamed Mr. Mackenzie for proposing a modest surplus of \$500,000, and declared that he had no right to levy that large

sum in excess of the actual demands of Government, and should reduce the taxes at once. They, by their great added duties, collected surpluses of near \$20,000,000, of which they boasted as evidences of statesmanship; and they refused to reduce the taxes, though we warned them of the result. The result is before you—A RECKLESS INCREASE OF THE PUBLIC CHARGE, UNTIL IT HAS REACHED AND PASSED THE CAPACITIES OF THE ENLARGED REVENUE, AND YOU ARE FACE TO FACE WITH ENHANCED OBLIGATIONS, VAST TAXATION AND AN EMPTY EXCHEQUER. They complained of Mr. Mackenzie's increase to the public debt, created in fulfilment of their own settled policy. They have enlarged that debt beyond the wildest conjectures of 1878, or even 1882, and have thus, apart from the heavy charge of redemption, absorbed all the benefit derivable from the lowered rate of interest over the world. They have drawn from the people in duties and deposits, and permanently sunk, enormous sums which would otherwise have gone into circulation; and they have thus increased the stringency and clogged the wheels of trade. They promised by a system of restriction and taxation to legislate into great and permanent prosperity the manufacturing and agricultural industries. We predicted that their system would result, as to manufactures, in the abstraction for a varying period of inordinate profits from the people, and then in an unwholesome stimulus and an unwise application of capital; that with our small population a glut would soon ensue; and that there would follow demoralization of trade, and distress alike to manufacturer and operative. *Look at the main glories of their policy, the cotton industries, the woollen industries, the sugar industries, for examples, and read in their records the fulfilment of our prediction! They have regulated the flour-milling industry to death.*

AS TO THE AGRICULTURAL INTEREST,

in whose leading branches we were producing a surplus, remember their dishonest attempts to gull the farmers; their declarations that they could improve prices by duties; their promises to bring a town population to every farmer's door. Remember during a brief period of high prices, their claim that it was all their doing. Remember also our declaration that their policy would hurt and could not help the farmer. Look at later prices for wool and barley, wheat and beef, and other products, and draw your own conclusions. As to the operative and the labourer, remember their promises to them, and our argument that the free competition in labour between Canada and foreign States would tend to regulate wages, and that for labour there was no protection. It has since been admitted by them that the condition of labour in the States is a main factor.

Need I say anything of

THE BALANCE OF TRADE,

of the Minister's sage declarations that he was going to reduce imports, of his joy when one year they balanced exports, of his announcement that they were going to improve even on this; of the condition of the balances shortly after, and of the anxiety now entertained that we may import largely so as to pay more taxes? (Applause.)

After a period of distress which culminated in 1879, there came, as was natural and inevitable, in spite of misgovernment,

A GLEAM OF PROSPERITY TO CANADA.

They claimed it all for themselves. They had done it with their little acts—(laughter)—and what they had done they would continue to do. *They promised us ten years of prosperity. They advised us to clap on all sail.* All over Canada they promoted the boom and encouraged the expansion. They declared that it was but the foretaste of good things to come; we had had but the first inkling of the joys prepared for us. (Laughter.)

Having dissolved in 1882, at the top of the wave, a year before the time, "Return us," they said, "and we will make the good times better still. What we have done, we will do tenfold." Do you remember the hundreds of new manufacturers and the millions of new capital that the verdict of 1882 was to introduce into Canada? Many believed them. They got their majority. Many acted on their advice, and launched into adventures, clapping on all sail for the ten years' prosperous voyage. We warned you that it was a delusion fostered by the crime or the folly of the Ministers. Some sensible men in the walks of commerce and finance soon after raised their warning voices too. Much mischief was done, but much was thus averted. A crisis was avoided. But a period of severe distress and depression is what you have undergone, instead of the promised ten years' voyage under unclouded skies, with sails swelling before a favouring breeze. *In truth, instead of helping they had hurt you. They retarded the arrival, they diminished the extent, they shortened the duration of your prosperity, and they intensified the following depression.* (Loud applause.)

Look, I pray you, everywhere and at everything,

CONTRAST PREDICTIONS AND PROMISES

with events and results, and say whether *our rulers are to be trusted more!* Alas, their removal will not undo all the evil they have wrought. Their works will live after them. (Laughter.)

They have brought the country into such a state that we must abandon for years to come the hope of dispensing with very burdensome taxation, though I believe our condition may be greatly bettered by wise readjustments and judicious relaxation, and by honesty, economy and retrenchment in government. They promised to create a mutually beneficial interprovincial trade. They have, indeed, forced some of our Western products and trade upon the East, but they have failed to give the East a Western market, and they have produced in the Maritime Provinces a condition of irritation and ill-feeling so marked, a sense of injustice at the violation of pre-confederation promises so great, that it is my belief that the sentiment as to Confederation is less favourable, the link of union is less strong to-day than it was ten years ago. I regret that many in the East blame Confederation rather than misgovernment for the unhappy results.

They promised that their tariff policy would

SECURE A RECIPROCITY TREATY

in two years. Reciprocity was their goal; and it was to be reached by great Canada putting pressure on our little neighbours to the south. (Laughter.) They have not secured reciprocity. *They have hardly tried.* They have told us for seven years that it was useless to try, and unpatriotic to talk of it; and so far as they dared their press has discouraged the idea. This is for us, as well as for those of the United States near us on the south, though of course not for those more remote, the greatest material question. There is none so important on either side of the line to the neighbouring populations. But it seems to me that for many long years *they have minimized the chances of a treaty.* In 1872 they declined the United States offer of trade privileges in connection with the fishery relations; they accepted the principle of a money compensation for the fisheries; they left the headland question in abeyance; they abandoned the Fenian raid claims; they gave away the free navigation of the St. Lawrence; and having thus seriously damaged and ~~compromised~~ ^{endangered} our interests, they refused towards the expiration of the treaty, though pressed as well by us as by the Imperial Government, to act with regard to the new conditions shortly to arise. *They took no step in time;* but after Congress had adjourned, and when, as everyone but themselves knew, it was impossible to procure a mutual extension, they proposed it in language most useful to the American Secretary. They gave him an easy task. He blandly adopted their views as to the inexpediency of shutting out the American fisherman, but, to their great surprise, he told these superior diplomatists that, under the Constitution of the Republic, Congress alone could extend the freedom of the trade, and thus he used our position as a

means of obtaining a one-sided extension by which we gave up all and got nothing.

OUR WISE MEN,

informed at last of the Constitution of the United States, and embarrassed by their own argument, yielded, with results to the Canadian fisherman we can easily understand. Our Government does not seem to have thought about—at any rate, they made no effort to prolong—the transit arrangements, which soon after ended to the detriment of important Canadian interests. A promise was, however, given that Congress should be recommended to create a commission to consider the fishery and trade questions; and negotiations are said to be expected, let us hope to have a more prosperous issue than our past experience of the statesmanship of our representatives would warrant us in expecting. (Hear, hear.)

The Tories mourned with bitter tears over

THE EXODUS

from Canada in Mr. Mackenzie's time, and the slow growth of population in town and country. They promised to change all that, and largely at the expense of the Canadian Pacific Railway to introduce fresh numbers to our soil. But *the exodus was greater than before*, and the general progress of urban and rural population has been slower than before, while they have expended enormous sums on immigration, to a considerable extent on persons who come into competition with classes already hard pressed, and on others who were but transient visitors to Canada.

They complained of our restricted foreign trade, and promised, by treaties of commerce, to open up to us new markets. To achieve these triumphs

THEY APPOINTED A HIGH COMMISSIONER,

with a magnificent furnished ten y. ⁵⁰⁰⁰ and large salary and allowances, aggregating, I believe, something near the salary of the United States Minister at London. Missions to France and Spain became the order of the day. In Spain we decided to stop, because for some incomprehensible reason it was supposed our advance might interfere with English negotiations, which have come to nothing. In France we lost a treaty by the delays incident to reference to the Imperial authorities. *The Ministers have laboured, and have not even brought forth a mouse.* (Laughter.)

But I forget. There are mysterious rumours about a second French treaty, which is said to have perished untimely before its

birth, which has been buried in secret, and which we must try some day to exhume for a coroner's inquest. They declared that the new office would save the cost and inconvenience of English Ministerial missions, but the missions have been more costly and numerous than before. *In fact, a Minister or two generally crosses every year.* But to make up, the High Commissioner spends a good deal of his time in Canada. (Laughter.) Notwithstanding the complete failure of their system, *they reject the step of securing to Canada the right to make commercial treaties;* the only step which will relieve us from the entanglements inseparable from the present plan, and give us a chance to advance in this direction our material interests. (Applause.) They have failed to secure the extension of extradition arrangements with the United States, which are in a condition scandalous to both countries, making each the refuge of the other's rogues, and which could be amended easily and very soon were we in direct communication with our neighbours through an agent at Washington, as I have long since recommended.

They have always professed themselves the only successful adjusters of our relations with the Provinces.

I have spoken of their trade and taxation policy. I will speak hereafter of their centralization policy.

AS TO THE MONEY RELATIONS,

theirs has been a hand-to-mouth policy—(hear, hear)—not based on general principles, bad for all the Provinces, productive of local operations, demands, and expectations of the most serious character. They have brought the question, at best one of great difficulty, and touching a very grave, I hope not a fatal, defect in the Confederation scheme, into still greater difficulties. At this moment the situation of Nova Scotia is serious. That Province has made representations to Ottawa which have perhaps got into the North-West pigeon-holes—(laughter)—and discontent and irritation are aroused. The settlement with Quebec did not take into account the claims of the other Provinces, and is said not to be final for Quebec itself, which is claimed to be still in a distressed financial condition. Other Provinces are coming forward, and the whole question has reached an acute condition.

While refusing to entertain the idea of

REFORMING THE SENATE,

the Government have, by their appointments, their vacancies, and by their management of Parliamentary business, impaired its modest possibilities of usefulness and its modest share of public confidence. That body is now pretty generally recognized for

what it is, a convenient reserve of Tory patronage when in office, and a powerful weapon in Tory hands after they are defeated at the polls. (Applause.) They have two chances. If you support them at the polls they have both legislative chamber, but if you defeat them they have the Senate still, and can use it to thwart the popular will. *We believe that it is not consistent with the modern democratic views of free institutions that the Executive should have power to nominate legislators for life.* (Applause.) *We believe that the legislative bodies should be elective,* and responsible to the people for whom they make the laws. (Hear, hear.)

Talk of the Senate as a revising body! Read the record of its sittings and of its revisory action on the great bills, and discard that notion forever! (Hear, hear). The Senate contains some good men, some able and upright men, but its constitution is vicious, and should be changed.

The Government was gradually forced, in part to make, in part to accept, improvements in

THE ELECTION LAWS.

To our long-continued efforts you owe the one day and simultaneous polling and the trial by judges. (Hear, hear.)

When the Reformers came in they gave up the right to name the returning-officers, and provided that responsible public officials should fill the posts. But the Tories, taking advantage of the change while their opponents were in office, the moment they returned to power repealed the law, and seized into their hands the appointments. They took and have abused the power. (Hear, hear.)

They have

SYSTEMATICALLY GERRYMANDERED ONTARIO.

This Province was within one of an equal division at the polls in 1882. But the gerrymander took from us eight seats, and endangered many more, so that we are in a decided minority in Parliament, and the change of a few votes would have almost swept us out of the House, though still sustained by half the electorate. This was a shameful and shameless act; a high-handed usurpation; an act of despotism under the forms of free institutions. (Hear, hear.) It was an act which sapped the foundations of free and constitutional government, and outrage every notion of fair play. *It is an act which we must never forget till its perpetrators are punished, and its wrongs undone.* (Cheers.)

The Government has since taken from the Provinces the power which each Province had up till lately exercised of settling the Dominion franchise. It is a power which, as the neighbouring

Republic proves, it is more consistent with the federal spirit to leave with the Provinces. THEY HAVE THUS CREATED A DOUBLE FRANCHISE, A DOUBLE REGISTRATION, DOUBLE TROUBLE AND EXPENSE. Their franchise is less liberal than that of the late Ontario Act, and they retain the plural vote. They have conferred on the unenfranchised Indians, of whom the bulk are shown, by their own official reports, to be uneducated and dependent, who have not yet got, are declared unfit for, and do not want the other privileges and responsibilities of citizenship, who are the wards of the First Minister and Chief Superintendent, the right of voting for their guardian's candidate if they choose, and against him if they dare. They have taken from the municipal officers the preparation of the lists, and, contrary to the English system, have seized the appointment of makers and revisers into their own hands. Their use of the power has been moderated for a time by the vigorous opposition and the force of public opinion; but they have in some cases greatly abused the power by the choice of partizans whose names figure in the records of election petitions, and are embalmed in the judgments on the trials. This act should have an end.

They have, besides these indirect means of affecting the people's choice,

THEMSELVES ELECTED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

They made Sir Charles Tupper member for Cumberland by act of Parliament. By resolution they turned off the choice—the admitted choice—of the majority of the electors of Kings; they refused to take the opinion of the court; they refused to take the opinion of the people; they seated in Parliament the man whom Kings had rejected, and he now represents the people, forsooth, by grace not of the people's votes, but of the Conservative majority in Parliament!

As to

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY,

the question is so vast and so encumbered with details that I despair in this rapid review of giving you even a bird's-eye glimpse of its later history. In 1878 both parties were agreed that the country should not be further taxed for its construction, but leading Tories thought Mr. Mackenzie had gone too fast; they were alarmed because up to 1877 \$6,250,000 had been spent, and they condemned as premature the work between Port Arthur and Winnipeg. In 1881 they proposed that we should arrange for a company to construct part and own the whole road at a cost to the public of about \$60,000,000 in cash, and 25,000,000 acres; and that we should give the company vast privileges and mono-

polies. They rejected better terms. But they pretended that their bargain would involve no burden on the people, as it would be settled out of the sales of the public lands. They justified the enormous price, because of the expected loss in operating in the early years; and they declared that the terms were liberal because they were final, and that the contractors could and would do the work without further calls on us. They have allowed the company to enlarge enormously the sphere of its operations beyond the contract line; to apply its credit and devote its energies largely to these operations, and to expend on them out of the company's resources to the close of 1884 over \$18,000,000. They have allowed the Company up to the same date to pay or set aside for dividends about \$20,000,000. *They have allowed it to adopt in its stock operations the water system*, so that for \$25,000,000 stock the original proprietors paid only \$10,000,000, and for the whole \$65,000,000 the company received only \$29,500,000. They have since lent the company \$30,000,000, and have spent or pledged in connection with the extended schemes nearly \$14,000,000 more. Taking no account of the \$11,000,000 received by the company from the land grant or of the temporary loan of last session, the public expenditure in gifts and loans of cash is thus \$104,000,000, or nearly \$500,000 for each electoral district, or *\$120 for each head of a family in Canada*. Of this sum about \$20,000,000 has been paid out of duties costing the consumers near \$30,000,000, and for the rest we borrow and pay interest, less of course the company's repayments on their loans.

TO PERSUADE US ON,

they told us in 1883 that between that year and 1891 we would receive from North-West lands \$58,000,000 in cash. Had they divided that sum by ten they would have been nearer the mark! Since then they have impaired the security and lowered the interest for the loan. And all this has happened while the cost of the work to be done by the company under contract cannot be more, and ought to be less, than \$58,000,000. *They have hastened beyond all reason and prudence the completion of the road, at enormous added cost, and in advance of any tangible necessity, or any early prospect of local traffic over the larger part of its mileage.*

They have thus

IMPAIRED THE IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS OF THE ENTERPRISE,

and at the same time charged upon the traffic of the North-West unnecessary burdens, while for that country the vital question is cheap rates of railway. To preserve the company's monopoly,

they have disallowed local railway legislation in Manitoba, in defiance of the rights and to the detriment of the interests of the Province, and we do not yet see the end.

LOOK AT THEIR NORTH-WEST POLICY !

At one time they encouraged speculation and promoted the boom which has caused so much misery there and here. At another time they closed large tracts to settlement. Always have they been slow, negligent, and not responsive to the calls of duty which were exacting as regards the development and administration of that vast region ; and so they created discontent and retarded solid progress. *They have used that country as a happy hunting ground for their supporters* inside and outside of Parliament, from Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney to expectant-Registrar Wilkinson. It has been one of the party resources of the Government. We have legal, medical, mercantile and broken-down politicians in the older Provinces turning up in every corner of the records, as

Timber speculators,	Ranche owners,
Coal miners,	Gold miners,
Railway promoters,	Land company promoters,
Land Speculators,	Office holders,
Contractors,	

all looking to Ottawa and begging for favours. This phase of the business has assumed in the Legislature the proportions of a public scandal. (Hear, hear.) Members have been using their parliamentary position to obtain advantages for themselves, and to procure at a price these advantages for others.

I know of a member, and so do you, who, as a reward for his influence and exertions in securing advantages, got

GRATUITOUS INTERESTS IN TWO COLONIZATION COMPANIES

—blind shares they call them. I know of a member who stipulated for a commission on the amount of a railway subsidy he was promoting at Ottawa. I know of a member who, being a director in a railway company, demanded as his share about half the expected profits of the promoters, on the threat that he otherwise would use his influence against the company's grant, which he thought he could help or hinder.

I need not go on, though I could go further and climb higher. THE STATE OF THINGS IS DISGUSTING AND ALARMING. Nor can you be surprised that men engaged in such transactions are but little open to reason and argument. *Their ears are in their pockets.*

But you ought not to be astonished at this condition of affairs. When the Canadian people returned to power the actors in the Pacific Scandal, these results were predicted. We could not but suffer a degradation of the public morals. I do not intend to deal with the graver features of that transaction, but let me recall to you one minor incident. Do you remember that in '72 there was a private bargain whereby a prominent member secured a secret share in the company? On the surface he was to pose as the independent member for Blankton, arguing and voting on high public grounds for large subsidies and liberal treatment to the company. In truth, he was to be a partner in the concern, making profits out of his vote and his seat. The facts became known, but after a decorous period of retirement he was again returned by his constituents, and now fills a Ministerial office. If such a transaction is to be followed by political promotion, why should you be surprised that it is followed by still more objectionable and scandalous relations between members and the public chest? *Why should you be surprised that the disease has infected electors as well as members, and that more and more openly the atrocious doctrine is disseminated that the public moneys should be appropriated, and that local claims should be regarded with reference to the political opinions of the district, and the degree of support it may accord to the Government of the day.*

Nor is this all. The

PATRONAGE IS ABUSED.

The office-holder is not free to vote as he wills. I know a case in which a member warned an office-holder that if he voted against the Government candidate he might lose his office, in which the man did so vote, and was shuffled out of his office accordingly. Thus you all see that a gigantic system of corrupt influence has been organized, by which the independent action of members and electors is checked, and the ascendancy of the Government is maintained. *Our task is to break that system down!* (Cheers.)

In another sphere of politics a most unfortunate line has been pursued by Ministers. They have attempted a course of centralization subversive of the federal pact. Our future depends largely on the full recognition of the

FEDERAL CHARACTER OF OUR CONSTITUTION,

and the preservation of our local liberties. But the Minister was from the beginning a legislative unionist on principle. If he could have had his way, all power would have been centered at Ottawa. He became a Federalist from interest, as the condition

of keeping power ; that power he has used, so far as he dared, in furthering legislative union. Both in framing and in interpreting the federal act he has minimized its federal character.

He has made many failures in his anti-provincial campaigns, but he has attained some successes injurious to his country. Of these late examples are the extension of the power of disallowance, the seizure of the provincial railways, and the appropriation of the franchises. As to his unsuccessful attempts, he claimed the right to the issue of marriage licenses, but the Imperial authorities decided against the constitutional lawyer—(laughter)—who has boasted so vain-gloriously of his infallibility ; and he was forced to abandon his prey. He claimed the right to escheats ; but the Privy Council has decided against the view of the constitutional lawyer. (Laughter.) And he was forced to abandon his prey.

The Ontario Legislature by act declared that the law gave a right to run timber down certain streams, and it provided for compensation for the use of the owner's improvements. The constitutional lawyer—(laughter)—averred that this act altered, and did not declare the law ; that it was a theft of the owner's property ; and he disallowed it thrice as unjust. The Privy Council decided, against the view of the constitutional lawyer, that the law was such as the Ontario Legislature had declared it to be ; so that they had not stolen the owner's property ; on the contrary their act was his security for compensation for lawful use.

So I believe the last Streams Act has not been disallowed ; we hear no more of this great outrage on the rights of property ; we hear no more of theft ; he has been forced to abandon his prey. (Applause.)

Yet the wound inflicted on the constitution is not healed ; nor will be until there is at least some formal declaration and repudiation of the claim to disallow local legislation on local matters not affecting Dominion interests, simply because an Ottawa Minister may fancy the act unjust. This pretention is subversive of the chief of all provincial rights—that of effective legislation on purely local affairs.

The constitutional lawyer declared that the limits of Ontario to the West did not reach Port Arthur, and to the North were the height of land ; he averred that the limits of the Lake of the Woods and the Albany River, and other waters were wrong and could not be supported by any court or tribunal in the world.

HE SOUGHT TO SEIZE ON A TERRITORY, THE SIZE OF A KINGDOM,
WHICH WAS THE PROPERTY OF ONTARIO.

For the paltry purpose of creating strife between Ontario and

Manitoba, he assumed to hand over this territory to Manitoba. She was encouraged to take possession, while Ontario was declared to be violent and wrong, because she claimed her own. But the Privy Council has decided against the boundary set up by the constitutional lawyer, and substantially in favour of that which he said no court or tribunal would support; he will be forced to abandon his prey. (Applause.)

The constitutional lawyer declared that even if the limits were the Lake of the Woods, yet Ontario had no right to the lands, the timber, the mines or the minerals; that these all belonged to Canada; that not a stick of timber or a lump of lead, iron or gold would ever be Ontario's; *and he has tried to divide up her inheritance among his political friends.* But the Chancellor has held that the constitutional lawyer is wrong; that the property is Ontario's. (Applause.) I am told that the prospect of a favourable result in the higher court is excellent; and so we may hope that he will be obliged to abandon his prey.

The constitutional lawyer, seeking in 1882 the

SUPPORT OF THE LICENSED VICTUALLERS,

declared that he had never doubted that the Local Legislatures had no right to regulate the sale of drink; that their acts were waste paper; that they would be so decided by the courts; and he advised the victuallers to test them. He declared that if returned he would pass an act taking away his power from that little tyrant Mowat. (Loud cheers and laughter.) The victuallers were pleased, and voted accordingly. They called on him to redeem his pledge. He then told Parliament that Ottawa legislation was necessary; that the local liquor laws were void; that the sale was free; that we must act at once; and all this he said was shown by Russell's case. We pointed out that Russell's case did not so decide; and that at any rate it was ill argued; the question of municipal rights was never raised; some of the reasoning was questionable; and that the proposed legislation was wrong. He insisted, and proposed a committee to frame a law. We declined to sit on his committee. He brought in their report and introduced his bill. We proposed postponement till the question he had raised should be settled by the court. He refused. We proposed action to remove the doubt in the sense of the Provincial rights acted on for fifteen years. He refused. *He forced his measure through, created his offices, established his machinery, collected his fees, issued his licenses, and involved the community in turmoil, confusion and expense.* Meantime the victuallers had taken his advice. They tested the local Act. *The Privy Council decided—against the constitutional lawyer—that the acts he had*

declared waste paper were good and valid. (Cheers.) Confusion became worse confounded.

Next session came. We called for the repeal of the law which it was now shown was not necessary, the ground for which had wholly failed. He refused. He declared that though the local laws were valid, the federal law was so also, and would supersede them.

THE CLOVEN HOOF APPEARED.

(Laughter). It was a matter of policy now, not of necessity. He wanted to centralize. In the end we forced a reference to the courts. The Supreme Court decided that the main parts of the law were *ultra vires*.

Last session came. We asked him to discontinue the struggle. He obstinately refused. We could obtain only a suspension, and the worry continued still. Now the Privy Council has decided that the emphatic and positive declaration of the constitutional lawyer was altogether wrong, and that the Act is *ultra vires*. The struggle was severe and protracted. It is ended now! His cohorts are disbanded; his licenses are torn up: his staff is off duty; his Act is waste paper. He has been forced to abandon his prey. (Loud applause.) But at what cost to the public and to citizens, it will not be easy to count up. Can you wonder that some people have actually begun to lose faith a little in the statesmanship and skill which, with such large pretensions, has produced such inadequate results? (Laughter.)

Now the Government has all this time been so

BUSY WITH POLITICAL INTRIGUE,

with schemes for retaining or obtaining political support, with jobs, with the regulation of our private business, with its attacks on the Provinces, that it seems to have had no time or energy for the discharge of its most obvious and important duties. IT MARKED THE EARLY PART OF ITS OLD LEASE OF POWER BY THE NORTH-WEST REBELLION OF 1869 IT HAS, I BELIEVE, MARKED THE CLOSING SCENES OF ITS NEW LEASE BY THE NORTH-WEST REBELLION OF 1885. (Applause.) I cannot go into the details to-night. I have done so in Parliament already. *Remember, that Government was very specially responsible for diligence and liberality in dealing with the North-West, because of former events, and because it was an unrepresented country, autocratically governed.* I have, nevertheless, shown beyond all doubt, out of the selected papers brought down under compulsion by the Government, the most scandalous neglect, delay and mismanagement. With an enormous Indian expenditure they had the Indians largely

in a state of hunger, insubordination and disquiet. With seven years' time for action, full power to act, full knowledge of the discontent, and of the danger of delay, with constant petitions, resolutions, representations, pressure and remonstrances, they yet did nothing to settle the claim of the North-West half-breeds to like treatment as was accorded those of Manitoba till it was too late—till the fire was in the heather.

When they first acted, it was in a lame, inadequate and halting sense, and with a fatal pause. (Cheers.) Even their second step, after the outbreak, was unjust and unsatisfactory, and it was not till after the commission had reported the need to yield that they yielded. They showed, also, gross negligence in dealing with the claims of the Manitoba enumerated half-breeds, whose first demands, though pressed and proved for years, they refused to recognize or settle, nor were they dealt with till April, 1885.

Their action as to the land office, the opening of the land for entry, the surveys, the settlement of land claims, the recognition of early occupation, wood rights, land patents, colonization companies and reserves, and their system of dealing with letters, petitions and reports were marked by

APATHY, INCAPACITY, NEGLECT, PROCRASTINATION AND BUNGLING.

In truth, the story is almost incredible, were it not proved out of the records.

Then in June, 1884, came Riel.

There was ample time that summer to settle all. All might have been even then adjusted; the grievances which were his instruments removed, and his power broken. *They knew he was there; they knew he was agitating; they knew the danger; Sir David Macpherson knew it; Sir John Macdonald knew it; Sir Hector Langevin knew it; Sir Adolphe Caron knew it—the whole corps of Knights knew it.* They were warned time and again; they were implored; they were threatened. Nothing moved them.

They were roused to action only on the eve of the outbreak.

TOO LATE, ALAS, TOO LATE!

(Applause.) They were as ineffective in measures of repression and defence as in those of redress. They demoralized and disbanded the local forces. With three years' warning they left the guns in such an unserviceable state that they became useless at Cut Knife, to the great danger of our gallant troops. They chose a military post at Carleton, which was only tenable while there was no enemy—(laughter)—and was abandoned the first instant of the war.

These are but samples of their conduct. I say nothing of the cost of the war, or the management of that business. Now, you know

WHAT FOLLOWED THE OUTBREAK.

The loss of many lives; many wounds; much suffering; terror and anxiety among the scattered settlers; great hardships; losses to individuals; millions drawn from the public chest; the country injured; the Indians unsettled; a state of affairs produced of which we cannot see the end.

I brought the subject before Parliament at the end of last session, but the House was exhausted, the papers were unprinted, the members had not read them; Government denied the accuracy of my statements; they called on their supporters to confide in them; they declared my motion inopportune, and called on their supporters on that ground to vote it down; and voted down it was. Since then there has been time to read the papers; the objections of last session no longer apply. Some of their supporters have already declared that the Government was wrong, and I do not believe they would now repeat their vote.

WHAT IS TO BE THE PENALTY FOR THE MEN WHO HAVE, BY THEIR CRIMINAL NEGLIGENCE AND INCAPACITY, PRODUCED THESE SAD RESULTS?

I have told them that in older days they would have been impeached as traitors to their trust. (Prolonged applause.) These are not our modern ways. The penalty is milder—for such an offence as theirs, too mild. It is but a withdrawal of the power they have abused, of the confidence they have betrayed.

This mild penalty we call on the people to inflict, and I will not so far despair of my country as to doubt the answer to that call. (Cheers.)

Since the close of the outbreak an event growing out of it has to a great degree engrossed the public attention, and to that I now turn—I mean

THE FATE OF RIEL.

An effort has been made for obvious political purposes to colour the character and exaggerate the import of the agitation on this subject. Some Quebec supporters of the Government have, in common with some of its Quebec opponents, denounced its action in very strong language, and words have been used, suggestions have been made, things have been done, which do not commend themselves to my judgment. (Cheers.)

On the other hand, the most violent language has been used in

the Ontario Ministerial organ. *The movement, as a whole, has, in my view, been misrepresented, and a deliberate design is apparent on the part of the Ontario Tories to create and intensify a war of race and creed, and to obscure by this means all the real issues between parties in order to raise an issue, false in itself, and which, handled as proposed by the Ministerial press, would imperil the future of our country.* (Cheers.)

It is quite certain that this question must, and it is most desirable that it should, be shortly debated in Parliament, and that those who challenge the conduct of the Government should tender a definite issue. This I hold, though I entertain very strong opinions as to the reserve which should attend criticisms on the exercise in ordinary cases of the prerogative of mercy.

As Minister of Justice I have had to advise in many capital cases, and I do not forget the heavy responsibility which rests on those in whose hands are the issues of life and death, and whose task is rendered all the more difficult by reason of the large measure of discretion vested in them, and expressed in the word clemency. I know how much these difficulties are enhanced by heated partizan and popular discussion, in which distorted views and an imperfect appreciation of facts are likely to prevail. I have been falsely and wantonly accused of selling the prerogative for personal and for political gain. I deprecated then, as I would deprecate now, such attacks on Ministers unless made with good and sufficient reason. So delicate, in my opinion, is the exercise of this prerogative, that while I have sometimes been unable to reconcile my judgment to that of the present Ministers, I have felt it, on the whole, the lesser evil to be silent than to raise a debate, and I can easily conceive, in fact I have known of cases in which, though I might differ from the conclusion of the Ministers, I should yet refuse to censure them for honestly taking a line which I would not follow.

BUT WE MUST BE GUIDED IN EACH CASE BY ITS OWN CIRCUMSTANCES.

The right of discussion, of advice, of censure, has been denied by a leading Ministerial organ. Yet it is unquestionable. Ministers are responsible in this as in all other cases. I was myself instrumental in procuring the reform which made this sure, and the rights which I helped to secure for my country I will help to maintain. (Cheers.) But I declare that the occasion must be special which renders discussion opportune, and the case clear which renders censure expedient.

Why, then, do I hold that this is plainly a case for Parliamentary discussion. For several reasons.

Because the trial was for an extraordinary political offence. A great agitation has supervened, and various questions have been raised which cannot be disposed of save after full debate in Parliament.

Because some prominent supporters of the Government declare that they have been misled, deceived and betrayed by the Government; and this charge must be investigated. (Hear, hear.)

Because these men also declare that the Government acted, not on principle, but on party considerations, to punish an old offence, and to gratify the hate of a section of their supporters, a statement which demands inquiry. (Hear, hear.)

Because unhappily at an early day, and before the trials, the Government declining the position of neutrality and indifference which as the representatives of public justice, public mercy, and public policy they should have maintained, declared that the charge which I preferred against them of neglect, delay, and mismanagement in North-West affairs was the defence of their prisoners, thus making themselves substantially private parties to the cause, and in effect resting their defence on the prisoner's conviction.

I have always held that both parties might be deeply guilty, the Government for neglect, delay and mismanagement, and the insurgents for rising in rebellion, always a grave offence against the State, and in this case aggravated by the incitements to the Indians to revolt. *But the Government identified their acquittal with the prisoners' conviction, and thus disqualified themselves for just judgment.* (Cheers.)

For these and other reasons I deprecate any attempt to evade or delay the Parliamentary discussion, and am ready to facilitate as far as I can the ventilation of the whole question, including the sentences of imprisonment, as to which I may be allowed to express the hope that Government will, without delay, deal with those sentences in a large and merciful spirit. But while I am of this opinion, I hold strong views as to the character of the discussion.

Much has been said of the conduct of the French-Canadians in raising this question, and

A WICKED ATTEMPT HAS BEEN MADE,

taking advantage of some too hot and intemperate phrases, to arouse prejudices of race and creed against them because they have shown specially warm feelings in this matter. It is true that we Canadians are in a political sense one people. I could wish that, without obliterating race predictions, there were among us greater unity and love as fellow-Canadians. (Hear, hear.) To that end I have laboured in my humble way, and not long since

when defending those of another faith than mine against what I believed to be unjust aspersions, I pointed out the true path of duty in a community of divers races and creeds like ours, "where we must combine firmness in the assertion of our own rights with fulness in the recognition of the rights of others—(cheers)—we must cultivate moderation and forbearance; we must hold to the ample acknowledgment of each man's individual rights of conscience in religious matters, and to the common citizenship of all in civil affairs if we would make of Canada a great and free country, inhabited by a happy and united people." (Cheers.)

Race and religious feelings however, exist, and will have their effect. It is natural that those of us who are of one Province, blood or faith, should feel more warmly than the rest in the cause of men of our own Province, origin or creed. (Hear, hear.)

BLOOD IS THICKER THAN WATER.

The condition I affix is this, that they should found their appeal on the great principles of justice, mercy and policy applicable to all alike, and should demand no special favours by reason of Province, race or creed.

Those of us who belong to the other elements of our nationality have also our duty to do—to make ample allowance for warmth of utterance and hasty phrase, *to calm rather than to excite prejudice, and to decide on broad and general, just and generous views, such as we would wish applied to ourselves. Let us do unto others as we would they should do unto us.* (Cheers.)

As to the union for political purposes of one race or creed, irrespective of political principles, I am not now to speak for the first time my mind. In 1871, when expressing the strong opinions I felt and feel on the subject of the murder of Scott, I deprecated any attempt to decide the question on the ground of nationality or religion. In 1877, when protesting against some ill-advised pretensions on the subject of undue influence, I declared that I should struggle "to preserve to each one of my fellow-countrymen, whatever his creed, the same full and ample measure of civil freedom which he now enjoys under those laws which enable him and me, though we may be of diverse faiths, to meet on the same platform, and to differ according to our own political convictions, and not according to our religious faith, or the dictation of any other man, lay or clerical." (Cheers.) *And during the last few years I have more than once warned my fellow-countrymen of an insidious attempt which has been made to effect a so-called political union of all the French throughout Canada in the interest of the Quebec Tory leaders. I have pointed out that this was an unpatriotic step fraught with danger to the Dominion,*

and with special danger to those who, being the minority, were asked to work together as a unit, apart from questions of opinion.

But no encouragement was given by the Tories of the other Provinces to these views. IT WAS ALL RIGHT FOR MESSRS LANGEVIN & CO. TO COUNSEL SUCH A UNION SUBSTANTIALLY IN THE TORY INTEREST. But when there is a breach in the Quebec Tory ranks the cry of danger to the State at once fills the air. *A united French population, united in the Tory interest, would be a public blessing. A more equally divided French population since it would weaken the Tory interest is a public danger.* (Laughter.) I say a more equally divided French population, for it is not my judgment that the French are a unit on this question.

For the same base party purpose of promoting race prejudice, and giving ground for the cry of English against French, they have been so represented by the Ontario Ministerial press. But not so by that of Quebec, and I believe it to be but a dodge, and that there is there, well as elsewhere some division of opinion.

So may it be !

LET US UNITE AND DIVIDE, I SAY ONCE MORE, ON GROUNDS OF REASON, ARGUMENT AND OPINION, AND NOT OF RACE OR CREED.

I hope and trust that the excitement having somewhat abated, the further discussion in the press and among the people may be more tranquil ; that rash and hasty language may be avoided, and that when we meet in Parliament we may engage in the debate in a temper and after a fashion suitable to our national dignity, and regardful of our national unity. (Cheers.)

Now, on what lines are we to deal with this question in Parliament. Those of us who have not engaged in the preliminary discussion, who are free and unfettered, to whom it is open, unembarrassed by any prior and premature declarations, to reach unbiassed conclusions, have, I conceive, very special duties. We are to help to obtain information on all points now obscure ; we are to listen to the arguments of those who have taken sides ; we are to consider the whole case presented, and we are to strive for the formation of a

JUST AND STATESMANLIKE JUDGMENT

by the House of Commons. *We must endeavour to eliminate, as factors in the decision, race and creed ; and cause the Commons of Canada to speak with a voice and in a sense which posterity, after these heats have cooled and these mists have cleared, shall ratify and confirm.* (Cheers.)

I BELIEVE WE CANNOT, IF WE WOULD, MAKE OF THIS A PARTY QUESTION. AFTER FULL REFLECTION I DO NOT ENTERTAIN THAT DESIRE; BUT WERE IT OTHERWISE, I DOUBT THAT THE RESULT COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED. (HEAR, HEAR.) I EXERCISE NO COMPULSIVE OR CONSTRAINING FORCE OVER THE OPINIONS OF THE LIBERAL PARTY ON THIS OR ANY OTHER QUESTION; AND I ENTERTAIN THE IMPRESSION THAT WITH US, AS WITH THE TORIES, THERE ARE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION IN THE RANKS NOT LIKELY TO BE COMPOSED, AND WHICH I, AT ANY RATE, SHALL MAKE NO ENDEAVOUR TO CONTROL TO A PARTY END. FOR, AFTER ALL, THOUGH AT FIRST BLUSH ONE MAY REGRET PARTY DIVISIONS YET AM I GLAD IN THIS CASE OF THIS CONDITION.

For the reasons I have given I do not desire a party conflict on the Regina tragedy. *I do not propose to construct a political platform out of the Regina scaffold—(prolonged cheers)—or to create or cement party ties with the blood of the condemned. To apply words I have already quoted in another sense, I do not care “To attempt the future’s portal with the past’s blood-rusted key.”*

Now, as you know, I have been absent from Canada for some months, but since my return I have read with care such papers as I could find. While these have produced impressions on my mind as to the material issues, I have been clearly led to the conclusion that the information required for a just judgement on some points is not before us.

I think we require an authentic copy of the evidence and proceedings at the trial, and also of the papers found at Batoche, the production of which was refused by the Government, but which, I think, Parliament should see, the rather that a Minister has lately made public one of these papers, of considerable importance as affecting Riel’s position, and tending to contradict the allegation that he had himself procured the invitation to come into the North-West. *I think we require an explanation as to why, if it was intended to execute the sentence, Riel was not put on trial for murder instead of for high treason.* Was it because it was thought inconsistent with Gen. Middleton’s letter to try him for aught save a political offence? It is proper also to know more as to the circumstances connected with that letter, so as to judge of the weight to be attached to it.

As to the trial itself, it must be confessed that the arrangements for the administration of justice, originally of necessity rude and primitive, had become by time less applicable to the circumstances of the country and were not well suited to the trial of such a case as Riel’s. The independence of the judiciary and its high stand-

ing in fact and in public estimation are of the first importance : and in a political case, in which the Government has taken sides, this is brought home to the meanest comprehension. But the judges of the North-West hold office, not like the Superior judges of the older Provinces, during good behaviour, but at the pleasure of the Government, on which they are thus in some sort dependent. Besides, they are also political personages as members of the North-West Council and thus less fitted for political trials.

I regret that the course of legislation has been rather in the direction of reducing than of increasing the securities in these cases. By the act of '80 the presence of two magistrates besides the stipendiary in capital cases, theretofore necessary, was dispensed with, one only being made sufficient. But I do not see that the Government is censurable for having tried the prisoner before the tribunal provided by the standing laws, though I may regret that those laws did not provide a more satisfactory tribunal; and it is always to be remembered that the special provisions requiring the decision of the Executive before the execution, and the attendant responsibility of Government, have been retained.

The choice of the judge is another matter. If I rightly understand, Mr. Richardson, besides being a magistrate and a member of the North-West Council, was the paid legal adviser, the political law officer, so to speak, of the Executive of the North-West, and I think explanations are required of such a choice for such a trial.

Something I had intended to say as to the panel, but on reflection, in the absence of knowledge on one material point, I think it better not to suggest in this respect hypothetical criticism, and therefore I abstain. I think it right to say that, in my opinion, the Government acted in a very proper spirit in providing for the attendance of the prisoners' witnesses, and that from what I know of their leading counsel I should suppose it impossible that, in their management of the case, there was anything unfair to the prisoner, or derogatory to the high character they deservedly enjoy, or the responsible duties they undertook to perform. (Cheers.) I am not implying, then, any present doubt as to the justice of the trial. For all my inquiries it may have been just. But, besides justice in fact, the creation of a feeling of public confidence, of a general impression that all was fair, and that every security was taken for fairness, is important, and in that view of the duty of the authorities, I think these questions should be examined.

Again, we should have before us all the withheld and suppressed documents as to the

NEGLECT, DELAY, AND MISMANAGEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT

—not, I repeat, as justifying rebellion, but as added proofs that Government gave the occasion and opportunity to raise rebellion by means of the feelings evoked and the materials and chances offered through their misconduct.

Look in this connection at Bishop Grandin's letters lately published. *Look at Col. Houghton's report still suppressed. Look at the mass of papers still confessedly withheld.* The Government says that it will not now enter into this part of the case. It is reserved for Parliament. Be it so. The issue is then deferred; but we must have the evidence. And these papers may have an important bearing on the propriety of the decision, and on the question whether these were the men who should have reached that decision.

I think we should have the evidence on which

GOVERNMENT HAS CHARGED THE WHITES OF PRINCE ALBERT WITH BEING GUILTY,

more guilty than the Metis. If so, they should be exposed. Indians and Half-breeds should not bear the brunt while guiltier whites go free—(cheers)—and the relation of these whites to Riel may have a serious bearing on his case.

We should have further information as to Riel's demand for money. As Government states the case, his conduct was base and venal, and a strong impression has naturally been produced. But the statement is involved in contradictions, for I find in the memorandum of the Minister the following extracts from the evidence: "He (Riel) said that if he got the money he would go to the United States and start a paper and raise the other nationalities in the States." He said: "Before the grass is that high in this country you will see foreign armies in this country." He said, "I will commence by destroying Manitoba, and then I will come and destroy the North-West and take possession of the North-West." *Now, however wicked, absurd or indicative of a disordered mind may have been these words, addressed to the man he was soliciting, they are inconsistent with venality.* More light is wanted here.

I now come to a most important part of the case. The question of

RIEL'S MENTAL CONDITION

is one to which I am at present disposed to attach greater importance than as I judge does the general public. But I think all will agree that we are clearly entitled to have before us, besides

the papers, the instructions, and report of the so-called Medical Commission which is referred to by the Government. You will remember the conflicting statements as to the character and results of the enquiry. Though there is much on which we can and ought to reach conclusions independent of the medical testimony, yet this is a part of the case without which we should not decide.

I think, also, that we should have a statement of the grounds on which the Government decided against the recommendation to mercy, a course which may have been perfectly correct, but which ought to be explained.

And here I may say that I regret that we do not know the grounds of that recommendation.

We should also learn something of the reasons for the last respite, of which several accounts have been given, one of an extraordinary nature.

Fuller information seems to be required as to the grounds on which the Government thought the execution of Riel necessary. Warm supporters of the Government have alleged that it shamefully betrayed and deceived them; we want the evidence of this. They also alleged that the Government acted to gratify the thirst for vengeance, in respect of the Scott murder, of one section of their supporters, and on a cold-blooded calculation of gains and losses in the counties, rather than on general considerations of public justice, mercy and policy. (Cheers.) On this grave charge we want light.

I will go no further. I have come to the conclusion that in this complicated case, where each of several branches may affect the general result, it is just that the materials for decision on every branch should be available before finally forming and announcing a general judgment; and therefore, much as I should have personally wished to communicate to you my individual impressions, I believe I shall best discharge my duty, which, as you will have seen, I consider to be as much judicial as political, by abstaining at this moment from the expression of opinions which would be, at best, but partial, *prima facie*, hypothetical, and subject to correction and review. It is with all the facts and circumstances before us, and in the presence of the Government, whose action has been assailed, and of their accusers, that our deliverance may best be made. (Cheers.)

To some partisans on either side who think nothing is to be said on the other, my view may be—will be—unsatisfactory. But those who are willing to seek for the truth, and, casting aside prejudice, to strive for just conclusions, will, I hope, recognize its propriety.

Much has been said about political alliances and compacts in this connection. I know of none. To none am I a party. (Ap-

plause.) *I have had no communication with anyone outside of my own party.* I have never wished for office. On the contrary I dislike it. Nor was there ever a time at which it presented in my view so little to attract: so much to deter. Beyond this I believe it to be from a mere party point of view the interest of the Liberal party that the present Government should remain in office a little longer—(laughter)—till the public have seen still more clearly the results of their past policy, results which if developed in our reign, might be, as in past times, attributed to us and not to their real authors. But were all this otherwise, I believe that a stable political alliance can be formed only on a general understanding on the substantial questions calling for early legislative and administrative action; and that it would be equally impossible and undesirable to form one based on community of sentiment, did that exist, with regard to an execution. *Nor have I reason to believe that on that or any other question the Government, though weakened, will be defeated this session.*

For the purpose of forwarding their design to form an anti-French alliance, the Ontario Ministerial organ has proclaimed their defeat. But the organs do not play the same tune in Quebec.

IT IS ONLY A DODGE.

The Government would doubtless like to make this an issue—nay, the issue—before the English speaking populations. They would like it because they know the long calendar of their crimes. But the accused shall not be allowed to choose the matter for which they are to be tried, or to frame their own indictment.

For our part, we, too, know the catalogue of their offences. We know the counts of the indictment; and it is our purpose, apart altogether from this question of the man who is dead,

TO DEAL WITH THE MEN WHO ARE YET POLITICALLY ALIVE

—(laughter)—and who, for innumerable political offences, deserve a political death—(cheer)—as sure, as stern, as swift as that which has at any time heretofore been meted out to those in like case offending. *I believe that in Quebec and elsewhere, in and outside of Parliament, there has been a growing feeling of uneasiness at the Tory policy; that it is being recognized more and more as a dreadful failure; that its features of debt, taxation, restriction, extravagance, corruption, jobbery, neglect, mismanagement and centralization have made for it many opponents; that the Government is sinking in public estimation; that the people are beginning to perceive the wisdom of our counsels, the folly of our opponents; that our labours of these many years are at length bearing*

fruit; that the Government will be weakened this session; and weaker still thereafter, and will, if we do our full duty, be defeated at the polls. (Prolonged cheers.)

AS IN MY ELECTORAL CONTESTS I HAVE MADE NO PRIVATE CANVASS, BUT HAVE DEPENDED ON MY PUBLIC UTTERANCES; SO AS A POLITICAL LEADER MY HOPES OF GAINING STRENGTH FOR MY PARTY HAVE RESTED SOLELY ON OUR PUBLIC SPEECHES, ON THE POLICY WE HAVE PROPOUNDED AND THE PRINCIPLES WE HAVE MAINTAINED. I have for some time believed that several supporters of the Government have been dissatisfied, have felt that they were on the questions of the day and of the immediate future more in accord with us than with Ministers, and have recognized the expediency of a change. They have seen that our country, which has great and solid natural resources; which even now, thank God, is showing in some quarters signs of recovery from some of the evils inflicted on it by its rulers; which is inhabited by an intelligent, industrious and progressive people, affording the main element of real prosperity; which requires only just and prudent, fair and statesmanlike government to permit its advance on both the material and moral planes, runs great risk if the present evil counsels are to endure.

Party ties, the bonds of friendship, long habit and association, the consciousness of having borne a part, though reluctantly, in some things now condemned, and other considerations of various kinds have long restrained them, and may restrain them still; but I do not abandon the hope that some may shortly come out from the ranks to which they no longer in heart belong, and co-operate with us frankly in effecting a change in the public counsels. If they do not we will continue to fight the good fight with a stout heart—(cheers)—as best we can without them. But if they do, I am sure you will gladly welcome co-operation and assistance so obtained.

Long have we hoped for a harvest from the seed we have been sowing! (Cheers.) The harvest has been slow of coming. Sometimes it has seemed as if the seed had perished. But it may have been dormant only. It may have germinated now. Soon may it ripen—(cheers)—and the fields grow white to the harvest!

If I could raise my feeble voice beyond the limits of this hall, and say a word in the ear of my countrymen through Canada at large, I would exhort them to come forward. Come forward, you who can cultivate and water, who can help to mature and gather in that harvest! Do your duty to your country! Take up the responsibilities as you enjoy the privileges of citizenship! GIVE YOUR TIME, YOUR ENERGIES, YOUR LABOUR TO THE WORK! THOUGH THE SKIES BE DARK, YET TRUST WE IN THE SUPREME GOODNESS! WE BELIEVE OUR CAUSE IS JUST AND TRUE; WE BELIEVE THAT TRUTH AND JUSTICE SHALL IN GOD'S GOOD TIME PREVAIL. IT MAY

BE SOON, IT MAY BE LATE. HIS WAYS ARE NOT AS OUR WAYS, AND HIS UNFATHOMABLE PURPOSES WE MAY NOT GAUGE. BUT THIS WE KNOW, THAT IN OUR EFFORTS WE ARE IN THE LINE OF DUTY. (Cheers.) WE HOPE, INDEED, TO MAKE OUR CAUSE PREVAIL. BUT, WIN OR LOSE TO-DAY, WE KNOW THAT WE SHALL RECEIVE FOR THE FAITHFUL DISCHARGE OF DUTY AN EXCEEDING GREAT REWARD—THE ONLY REWARD WHICH IS WORTH ATTAINING, THE ONLY REWARD WHICH IS SURE TO LAST. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. Blake to the Owen Sound Reform Association.

NORTH-WEST AFFAIRS.

MALADMINISTRATION AND REBELLION.

STRANGE DISAPPEARANCE OF 125,000 IMMIGRANTS.

Tupperian Calculations—Premature Surveys—Grievances of the Metis—Value of Half-breed Sympathy.

“FORCE IS NO REMEDY.”

REFUSAL OF INFORMATION BY THE GOVERNMENT.

Scandalous Treatment of Indians—“What About Riel?”—The “Bunter and Smasher” Fanatics.

Hon. EDWARD BLAKE, on coming forward to respond, was received with cheers and the waving of hats and handkerchiefs. The applause was renewed again and again until he raised his hand in request of silence. He said:—

“Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Reform Associations, whose addresses I have just been privileged to receive: I give you my best thanks for the language, all too kind, and the expressions, all too flattering, which you have been pleased to use towards me. I wish I could feel myself in any degree worthy of them. I can only claim for myself that, conscious of many imperfections and failings in my public career, it has, at any rate, been animated by an earnest desire, to the best of my humble powers and to the limit of my poor ability, to do some little good to the country in which I was born, in which it is my happiness to live, and where I hope to die, and so to leave the corner of the world in which I live a little better for the life that I have lived in it.” (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Entering upon the discussion of public questions, Mr. Blake touched briefly upon the tariff, the reform of the Senate, Pro-

vincial rights, the right of Canada to make commercial treaties, and the independence of Parliament. Dealing more at length with

QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE NORTH-WEST,

he said :—" You remember well what hopes the people of Canada, particularly the people of Ontario, entertained for many years with reference to the North-Western country. You know that we desired earnestly to see that country filled with an industrious and law-abiding population, growing rich and strong, to their own advantage first, but also to ours, increasing the material and also increasing the political elements of Canadian strength. You know that, with that view, we have been willing, all of us, to make some pecuniary sacrifices, to add somewhat to our burdens, and to engage in the prudent conduct of enterprises which most Reformers believe have been imprudently managed, and whose management they have therefore opposed." You know, also, that *the progress of that country has unhappily been impaired by misgovernment, maladministration, and neglect.* You remember that AT THE VERY OPENING OF OUR CONNECTION WITH THAT COUNTRY, IN 1869 AND 1870, THE NEGLECT BY THE TORY GOVERNMENT of those precautions which ought to have been taken in dealing with the annexation, not of a territory merely, but of the population who inhabited it, PRODUCED A REBELLION. (Applause.) For fifteen years since that time we have gone on with full control of affairs in the administration and development of that country. You remember that from time to time statements were made of grievances, of discontent, of neglect, of delay, of maladministration. You remember also that the Government declared that those statements were entirely without foundation, they declared not only that there were no grievances, but that there was no serious complaint of grievances. Sir Hector Langevin went there in the summer of 1884, and three or four other Ministers as well. They travelled about, they saw the people, they received entertainments. SIR HECTOR LANGEVIN gave an account of the result. He SAID THAT HE WENT THERE at the request of the first Minister FOR THE EXPRESS PURPOSE OF FINDING OUT WHAT THE GRIEVANCES WERE; HE FOUND ONLY TWO MEN WHO HAD A GRIEVANCE, and that grievance was that there were not enough ladies in the country. (Loud applause and laughter.) Now, these all-wise governors, who claimed that they had so wisely administered affairs, also declared that their success was marvellous and unprecedented.

THE ROAD WAS "NOT TO COST THE COUNTRY A CENT,"

they said when they were persuading you to advance large sums in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway (which sums

now amount all told, apart from the land and including the amounts for the eastern extensions, to about \$87,000,000, or about \$400,000 for each electoral district—which would be about \$1,200,000 for the County of Grey alone). I say that *they declared that this expenditure would cost you nothing, because, principal and interest, it would all be repaid at no distant day by sales of the lands of the North-West.* In the year 1880 Sir John Macdonald declared that by the year 1891 we would have secured from North-West lands some \$71,500,000, from which you were to deduct \$2,400,000 for expenses, leaving about \$69,000,000 clear gain. So late as the year 1883 Sir Chas. Tupper brought down a statement from the Department of the Interior, showing that in the years from January, 1883, to December, 1891, they would realize in cash \$58,000,000. They pledged themselves to the people that every shilling, principal and interest, would be repaid out of these lands. That is all exploded now;

THE BUBBLE IS BURST.

The returns from North-West lands for the period of five years past were about four millions of dollars, and the net returns, deducting the costs of surveys and administration in the West and at Ottawa, were \$370,000 only, while last year there was a balance of about \$300,000 on the wrong side of the ledger, and that without deducting a shilling on account of the \$1,100,000 a year we spend on Indians, \$450,000 a year on Mounted Police, and other charges of hundreds of thousands on account of administration. Put these sums on one side—suppose them to be paid in some other way—and take the lands, what they produce on one side and what it costs to administer them on the other, and you find these results. I challenged these men on this subject in the House of Commons. I said:—*Will you say that of the sum you mentioned only three years ago as certain to be realized, even one-tenth of it will be realized net?* And they would not say me nay. (Cheers.) They said the immigrants would pour in and were pouring in rapidly. To the figures they gave of the number who had settled I added something for the natural increase of the population. And I find that, taking the official figures, showing those who were actually there, and the natural increase, there were

ABOUT 125,000 PEOPLE A-MISSING.

(Laughter and applause.) I asked them:—*Did these people come in? You said they did; is it true? If it is true that they did come in, where are they now? (Hear, hear.) Do their bones whiten the prairie?* We know they don't, for the country is a healthy

country. *Have they gone away?* Too many have, but not all these. *The fact is it was all a delusion; so many people never settled there at all.* They said the people there would cultivate enormous areas of the lands and produce enormous crops, to the advantage of the whole people of Canada. They made a calculation about that too. They said: The staple of that country is wheat. Sir Charles Tupper, in my hearing (at one of those times when he was persuading us to make some great grants for the railway), asked us whether the members of the House had considered what a hundred thousand farmers in that country would produce.

A TUPPERIAN CALCULATOR.

"I have considered it," said he, "I have made a calculation; I will give that calculation, and it will perhaps surprise some of you who have not taken the pains I have to find out the facts. The facts are that a hundred thousand farmers in that country will produce 640,000,000 bushels of wheat in a year!" (Loud laughter.) Yes, gentlemen, it is a fact that he said that; I heard it myself. How did he reach these figures? He assumed that each farmer would crop 320 acres of land, his whole homestead and pre-emption. (Laughter.) He was to live in a balloon, for Sir Charles didn't leave him any room to build a house; he was to have his barns and stables in the air, his cattle were to pasture in the clouds, he was to have no grass, he was to have no garden, he was to have no roots, he was to have no crop of any kind but wheat; there was to be no room for fences, no room for roads through his farm, no anything, but every inch of 320 acres was to be sowed to wheat; and then he estimated that every acre would produce twenty bushels, and so he made out that each farmer would produce 6,400 bushels, and a hundred thousand farmers would, of course, produce 640,000,000 bushels. (Loud and prolonged laughter.) *These are the stories with which these men tried to gull, not the farmers, because there is no rural audience that could be collected that would not laugh such absurdities to scorn, but the Parliament and the people at large.* They went to work to survey the country.

IMMENSE PREMATURE SURVEYS.

They said such an immigration as never was heard of before will go into the North-West; we must prepare at once for the millions about to cross the ocean and fill up that territory; we must survey acres by the tens of millions—and they did. They surveyed so far and so fast that there are hundreds of thousands of farms surveyed which will not be settled in your lifetime or mine. There

is one block along the Canadian Pacific Railway itself 400 miles long. Take the distance from Hamilton to Montreal—it is less than 400. *Think of a strip that long and forty-eight miles wide, all surveyed and ready to be occupied as farms.* And how many homesteads were there on that strip on 31st December last? *There were 138.* (Cheers and laughter.) And this was on the line itself—but THEIR SURVEYS WERE NOT CONFINED TO THOSE PARTS OF THE LINE FOR WHICH THEY WOULD HAVE HAD SOME SORT OF EXCUSE. I was telling my friends at Chesley yesterday of a gentleman who was travelling across the plains, and he caught up to an Indian or Half-breed driving along in a Red River cart. He noticed there was something out of the common in the cart. And what do you suppose? The cart had in it a lot of surveyor's pegs. (Loud laughter.) The fellow had picked them up as he went along to make his camp fire. (Cheers and renewed laughter.) We have been engaged in these surveys of all these tens of millions of acres, and meanwhile what has happened? This happened:—THE GOVERNMENT WAS TOO BUSY WITH THESE GREAT SCHEMES OF BRINGING IN MILLIONS OF PEOPLE FROM THE OUTSIDE, AND THEIR SCHEMES TO MAKE FRIENDS RICH OUT OF THE NORTH-WESTERN LANDS, TO ATTEND TO THE FEW WHO WERE ALREADY THERE. They had no surveyors to send out, and no money to spend in surveying the lands of the people already long settled in the country, and who are calling for surveys in the remote parts where they were settled, so that they might patent, sell, divide, devise, mortgage, or otherwise deal with their properties as you and I want to do. *For years they called, for years they cried, for years they asked and begged for surveys,* and I could read from the blue-books the reports of the Government's own officers that there was dissatisfaction and uneasiness, but that those who were dissatisfied must wait, because *the grand projects of the Government left them no time to attend to the wants and demands of the people already in the country.* I said to them once and again, "The best advertisement you can have to induce people to come from abroad is a happy, prosperous, and contented population already there. (Loud and prolonged applause.) Get letters and statements from the settlers showing that they are satisfied and cheerful, that they have no grievances, that they advise the millions of landless folk abroad to come and join them, and these statements, giving in their own simple language the story of their trials and of their success, will do you more good than hundreds of statements by Sir Charles Tupper showing that 100,000 farmers will produce 640 million bushels of wheat in a year. (Loud and prolonged applause.) They will do more for you, because no sensible man will believe these marvellous stories you tell, while all sensible men will be inclined to believe the statements made by the actual settlers themselves." (Cheers.) But no, gentlemen,

THEY WERE BLIND AND DEAF

to these considerations. A few years ago we pointed out that some complaints had, as we had learned, come to Ottawa, and the cry of the settlers had reached further than the departmental pigeon-holes. Some had reached members of Parliament, myself among others. I moved for papers showing what the grievances of the settlers of Prince Albert were. I moved that in March, 1883. The House ordered that the papers should be brought down. But the papers were not brought down until after the rebellion broke out, until we were dealing with that question in 1885. Mr. Cameron, of Huron, moved that there should be a committee of the House to consider the

GRIEVANCES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH-WEST.

—grievances alleged to exist by the people of Manitoba, by the people of the North-West Territories, by the North-West Council, by settlers, and by missionaries. But the Government negatived the motion for a committee. Then we said :—*The true safety-valve, the best thing that can be done is to apply the constitutional remedy—give these people representation in the councils of the nation* ; they live far off, they cannot see us, and we cannot speak to them ; we have not the same means of learning their wants and grievances as in other parts of the Dominion. Give them members, men chosen by themselves, men who know the wants of the country, men to come at the bidding of these people, to be responsible to them and to Parliament, to state the condition of the country and call for redress of grievances. *We brought in measures for this purpose.* The Government rejected them, and declared that they would not even give these people representation. There was no hurry ; the time would come ! But the rebellion broke out, and AFTER THE REBELLION WAS OVER, and in the last session of Parliament, AFTER FIVE MILLIONS, to be paid out of your taxes, HAD BEEN WASTED in war, AFTER BLOOD HAD BEEN SPILT, AFTER UNTOLD PANGS HAD BEEN INFLICTED upon the people, AFTER THE REPUTATION OF OUR COUNTRY HAD BEEN TARNISHED, AFTER A SET-BACK HAD BEEN GIVEN TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE NORTH-WEST from which it will not recover for years, then—THEN AT LAST, and not till then—they brought down and passed a measure granting representation to the North-West. (Loud applause.)

I am absolutely convinced that *had our advice been taken* and representation accorded in time, *there would have been no rebellion.* It should not be lost sight of that it was of the utmost importance, for high political reasons, that the Half-breeds should be kept peaceful and loyal.

IMMENSE VALUE OF HALF-BREED SYMPATHY.

The great danger in that country was from the Indians, and the Half-breeds formed a link between us and them which should have brought us more into sympathy with them and afforded us means of controlling them, of learning their character and their wants, and how best to deal with them. Now, in 1869, when Canada assumed the Government of the new territory, the Half-breeds of the eastern part came forward with a proposition. They said :—*It has ever been recognized by Britain that the Indians living in a country over which she assumes sovereignty, have certain moral rights, indefinite they may be, but not the less to be regarded, in the soil, not merely that part of the soil they happen each of them to occupy, but the soil of the region. We are partly of Indian blood, and as such, being residents of this region, we claim compensation for that right which you are now about to take away from us.* On the settlement THAT RIGHT WAS ACKNOWLEDGED BY THE GOVERNMENT, SIR JOHN MACDONALD BEING THEN IN POWER, and besides the title to the land they happened to occupy, certain lands or scrip for lands were given to each Half-breed, 160 acres for each person of full age, and 240 acres for each child, expressly in extinguishment of what was called their Indian title, and THUS IT WAS SOLEMNLY RECOGNIZED THAT THE HALF-BREEDS HAD SUCH A TITLE. As settlement began to extend in the outlying North-West Territories, and the buffalo disappeared, and the Half-breeds of these parts were obliged to change their mode of life and settle down on farms, the demand for a recognition of their rights of precisely the same character arose. It could not be denied. They were in just the same position as those of the East, and the rights of their relatives had been accorded. It was in 1878 that this demand was pressed, and in the winter of that year Sir John Macdonald's officers caused inquiries to be made and reports to be obtained which showed that, in the opinion of those whom they consulted, it was not merely important that the question should be settled, but important that it should be settled without delay, because

DELAYS WERE DANGEROUS

and would produce sores and irritations, and render a settlement at a later date more difficult. Upon that the Government decided to ask Parliament to give them the power necessary to effect a settlement; and IN MAY, 1879, PARLIAMENT PASSED AN ACT AT THEIR REQUEST, AND, IN THEIR WORDS, GIVING THEM AUTHORITY TO GRANT SUCH LANDS OR SUCH SCRIP, and on such conditions as they thought right in the settlement of these claims. So that at

that time, and by their own request, THEY WERE CLOTHED WITH THE FULLEST AUTHORITY TO SETTLE THIS CLAIM.

CRUEL AND CALLOUS NEGLECT.

From that time till 1885 they did towards a settlement absolutely nothing—absolutely nothing. Nor was their utter neglect palliated by the absence of remonstrances, for from year to year poured in petitions, representations, resolutions of meetings, letters, resolves of the North-West Council, all pointing to the importance of at once settling this question. But, until January, 1885, they did nothing—absolutely nothing. In that month they did something which was a half-way measure, utterly inadequate, and having taken that half-measure they stopped, and *until March or April, 1885, after the rebellion had actually broken out, they did nothing more.* But in March, 1885, they took the first somewhat effectual step towards recognizing the right of the Half-breeds of the North-West in respect of the Indian title; but even then the recognition was inadequate, and it was not till April that *they were forced by fear to do justice.* This delay took place notwithstanding that in June, 1884, the Half-breeds had called into the country as their chief and leader Riel, who had great influence over them, and in whom they had the greatest confidence, to advise and counsel them, and to direct the agitation for what they called their rights. One would have thought that even though the Government had been blind and deaf to all hints and warnings before, this, at any rate, would have awaked them. One would have thought that when the author of the old trouble had been called in again, and when he was holding public meetings, exciting the people, and calling for redress, this would have aroused them. More than this, there were remonstrances sent down from high dignitaries, bishops, missionaries, public officers, persons in authority all through the Territories, calling upon the Government to act, and to act at once. They had, even then, plenty of time and room to act, and plenty of reasons for acting early. (Applause.) I do not know what possessed them; I have been *utterly unable to conjecture what it was that possessed these people with a spirit of obstinacy and apathy so great as to prevent them from taking even the first step towards the redress of these grievances until it was too late.* It could not be that they were not alive to the state of affairs, for the papers show that though they took no measures for redress, they did take measures of repression. In July, 1884, they sent Col. Houghton to the district, to take away the arms of the militia, for fear they might be improperly used. They applied to the Hudson's Bay Company for and got possession of the old post at Carleton, to be used as a

special station for the Mounted Police, and they put a number of men there in case of trouble.

THEY COULD INVENT MEASURES OF REPRESSION,

but toward the good old constitutional measure of remedying the grievances, of taking away the causes of offence, of removing the origin of the discontent and trouble, *not the first step was taken until it was too late.* (Cheers.) They say now that the rebellion was precipitated, because in January they took the first step toward settling the difficulty; that Riel rose earlier than he intended, because he found the Government was moving at last, and he felt that if he waited a few days more the causes of dissatisfaction among the people would be removed, and he would be without a cry for rebellion, and the people would not rise in his support. *Does not that statement, in itself, prove that there would have been no rebellion at all had the Government acted earlier?* (Loud cheers.) Could I give you plainer proof of their guilt than this—their own statement? *If they had acted in 1882, in 1883, in the summer of 1884, in the fall of 1884, even if they had acted effectually in December of 1884, January, 1885, they would have acted late indeed, but yet in time enough to remove what they admit to be a main lever and help for Riel in the rising, the grievance which was left untouched in spite of petitions, but which was soon adjusted when the rebellion broke out.* (Cheers.) What was the extent of this particular grievance? They say it was not very great in the district which was particularly disturbed, in which the rising took place. That has very little to do with the question. The danger never was confined to the case of the few men who rose. From them there could be no danger. **THE DANGER WAS GREAT LEST THE HALF-BREEDS GENERALLY SHOULD RISE AND JOIN THE CAUSE LED BY RIEL, AND THE DANGER WAS STILL GREATER LEST THE INDIANS ALSO SHOULD RISE.** Now, the danger with reference to the Half-breeds generally was very great. How do I prove it? I prove it by the fact that this grievance to which I have referred was submitted to a Commission, and that Commission has since reported the cases of about

1,700 INDIVIDUALS WHO WERE ENTITLED TO SHARE IN THIS CLAIM, or allowance for the extinguishment of the Indian title, and who had not received justice for all these years. I prove it by the further fact that there was an analogous and long-standing grievance in respect of those who were entitled to share in the grant made to the Half-breeds of Manitoba, but who were absent at the time, and were not enumerated, and of these nearly four hundred cases have been found. These two together make *about two thou-*

sand cases of this class of grievance. That is a good many in itself, but when you reflect that the whole Half-breed population in the North-West, men, women, and children, was about 4,800, and of these about two thousand had long-standing and unredressed grievances of this class, the case becomes startling indeed. Take the population of Ontario, about two millions of people, and suppose that over 800,000 souls amongst our population had each one an individual grievance against the Government of a great many years' standing, and I want to know how peaceful and quiet, and contented and happy we would be. (Loud applause.) We would agitate, we would protest, we would be disturbed and discontented, and we should be unworthy of our name and of the position and liberties our forefathers won for us if we should sit perfectly quiet for years under absolute neglect without finding the first attempt made to remove the grievances of so large a portion of the population !

GOVERNMENT'S GUILT PROVED FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

I can show to you from the papers and statements of these men themselves that there were grievances affecting a large portion of the Half-breed population ; that the fact was known to them, and the importance of an early remedy was also known ; that they asked for and received in 1879 full power to settle the difficulty ; that they did not move at all until 1885 ; that they were asked again and again in the meantime to act ; that they were warned again and again in the meantime of the danger of delay ; that in June, 1884, Riel came in, and they were thus especially warned in time to have averted the danger ; that they in some sort knew the danger of the situation, and thought it serious enough to justify them in taking away the militia service and establishing a special post of the Mounted Police ; that notwithstanding all this, they did nothing to redress till 1885. In the Commons House of Parliament I HAVE TOLD THESE MEN FACE TO FACE, THAT BEFORE GOD AND MAN I HOLD THEM RESPONSIBLE FOR EVERY DROP OF BLOOD SPILLED, EVERY PANG SUFFERED, EVERY DOLLAR OF TREASURE SPENT, ALL OUR LOSS OF REPUTATION, ALL OUR BLASTED HOPES, BECAUSE OF THIS REBELLION ; AND WHAT I SAID TO THEM FACE TO FACE I SAY TO YOU TO-DAY. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Well, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, these are the men who come before you towards the close of their Parliamentary term and claim a renewal of your confidence. Will they ask it on the score that after you first gave them your confidence, and when they became connected with the North-West, they marked Canada's acquisition of that territory by a rebellion due to their mismanagement, and on the further score that towards the close of their second term they have by their accumulated

misdeeds and neglect produced a second rebellion in that country? (Cheers.) I say no more damning record of utter incapacity, absolute neglect, and complete forgetfulness of the duties and responsibilities of office can be disclosed than that which even the imperfect records we have relating to this unhappy affair sufficiently evidence. But we have not got it all! They are too wise to let us have it all. (Applause.)

GOVERNMENT DARE NOT BRING DOWN THE WHOLE RECORD.

The day that news came that war had broken out in Canada, I called for papers on the subject. That call I have again and again renewed since then. From various sources I learned, on various grounds I conjectured, judging from the probable results of motives of duty and policy, I was sure there were communications from various persons pointing out the situation of affairs, particularly during the summer of 1884, and the fall of the same year. I called for these communications, but was told that at that time nothing could be given. I called again and again. At one time I was told there were not clerks enough to copy them, that it would take too much time, that I was too inquisitive, but that I would get them some later day. At another time I was told it was a monstrous request, for the rebellion would be aggravated by bringing them down. (Laughter.) Again I was told that I was a heartless, cruel man, asking that papers should be brought down when the bringing of them down would put the lives of missionaries and officials in peril. *These papers, I charge, showed that the missionaries and officials had done their duty in warning the Government of the true state of affairs, and that the Government had neglected its duty in paying no heed to these warnings.* I ask you, as sensible men, do you suppose that the lives of missionaries and officials would be put in peril by papers being brought down such as these? (Applause) They wrote to the Government saying:—Here is a grievance; the people feel it and are discontented; redress the grievance, and redress it quickly, or difficulty will arise. Of course, such a letter as that would strengthen, not weaken, the missionary or official who wrote it with the people, for they would say:—“Here is a man who is alive to our situation, who admits that we have grievances, who calls for their settlement.” Such a letter would not endanger its writer’s life. I admit, however, that there would be danger in bringing down these papers, and that life would be imperilled. But

THE DANGER WOULD BE TO THE GOVERNMENT,

and the life imperilled would be the political life of those untrustworthy stewards of your affairs. (Loud laughter and applause.)

And so I went on asking until I was nearly as weary as they were. Towards the close of the session before last, after having made statements of many of the missing papers, I put a series of questions on the paper in which I inquired whether there were letters from this, that, and the other person. In some cases I was told there were, and in some cases that it was believed there were such letters, but the papers would be collected and laid upon the table at the beginning of the following session. When the session—that is last session—opened, I asked where the papers were. Sir John Macdonald said :—“If you will renew the question in a day or two I will in the meantime look up the report of the debates and let you know.” (Laughter.) I asked again, but he told me that he had not yet had time to look the matter up. You see this matter was of no interest to him, and he had no doubt forgotten it. (Laughter.) I asked again, and he replied that really my demands of the previous session had been so numerous that he must ask me to go them all over again, and tell him what I wanted. I said in substance :

The record is there. Now I will tell you what I want. I want to know whether you acknowledge it to be your duty, and whether you intend to bring down any of the papers this session, having regard to the responsibility of the Government and the pledges they have made ?

He replied :—“We do.”

I asked “When ?”

He said :—“They are now in course of preparation.”

I waited for weeks and still could not get them. I then moved a resolution declaring that it was the duty of the Government to bring down all the papers relating to this matter without delay. They met that motion with a speech in which they pointed out all the papers that had been brought down, and suggested that no more could be expected or desired. I spoke again. I went over a large part of my own budget of the previous session, reading from the reports of the debates. Then one of them rose and said :—Now that the honourable gentleman has stated what he wants (all of which and more had been stated in the previous session) we will treat his speech as if it had been an order of the House, the papers will be prepared and brought down at the earliest possible moment.

AND THEY'RE NOT DOWN YET.

(Loud applause and laughter.) But they defeated my motion because a confiding member on their own side of the House proposed as an amendment that, having regard to the declarations of the Government and their willingness to bring down all the papers, the House was satisfied, and the majority, composed largely of

such men as the member for Gloucester (Mr. Burns), of whom I told you, carried that amendment. We moved for a committee of inquiry, I declaring in my place that I believed I could prove that there were important papers affecting the delay, neglect, and mismanagement of the Government in the North-West, and which were, or had been, in the archives, if I could get a committee to take evidence. But they voted that down, and would not give me the means of proving my words, nor would they bring down the papers.

WHAT DOES ALL THIS SHOW ?

If there was a dispute between two of your neighbours in which the proof afforded by certain papers in the possession of one was said to be important to make good the case of the other, and if he refused to produce those papers, would you say that that proved his innocence? (Laughter.) Not at all; you would say that was of itself strong evidence on the other side. The holder would be very glad to bring them forward if they helped his case and disproved his opponent's. (Applause.) "Everything is presumed against him who conceals or destroys the papers." That is what the law says, and the principles of the law are, after all, founded on common sense. You presume the worst against the man who destroys the documents, because if they would not prove the worst he would rather have produced than destroyed them. I hope these documents, or the evidence of them, will yet see the light. I am afraid it will require great pressure, and that pressure will have to be applied by the electorate before we shall see the true inwardness of this whole matter. Partly from such reports as the Government were forced to bring down, partly from newspapers and other sources, I have gathered certain facts, and have laid them before Parliament and the people. These facts, some of which I have stated, are even now fully proven, and you can depend upon them. How much more there is to be learned, what greater mystery of iniquity is hid yet within those pigeon-holes you can only conjecture who see that in the face of all remonstrances, in the face of all their own promises, in breach of their public duty, the Government refuses to let them see the light of day.

Now do not for a moment suppose that I have stated all the grievances and neglects, or even the chief grievances and neglects, affecting those who actually rose. I have not done so, nor does time allow. But grave grounds of complaint there were with reference to their surveys, their river fronts, the arrangements for their holdings, the reserves for colonization companies, and other matters; and gross neglect—the grossest neglect—there was no response to the letters, petitions, and remonstrances sent down by these poor people and their missionaries—some being never even answered,

and the bulk shamefully delayed and ignored. The discussion of these grievances would require a speech. I pass them by for the present.

NORTH-WEST INDIANS.

Another great source of danger to the North-West was the unfortunate condition of the Indian population. That population was numerous, it was warlike and trained to battle and combat of a certain kind—the Indian warfare. It was dissatisfied, irritated, discontented, because it also had been miserably misgoverned, because the liberal appropriations which Parliament had made (adequate, so far as I can judge, with the most moderate exertions on the part of the Indians themselves, to sustain them with reasonable comfort) had been so applied, or rather, so misapplied, or were so left unused, that THE INDIANS WERE IN LARGE NUMBERS STARVED, and in greater numbers half-starved. For the official reports show you the cases of numbers of those people, some mere children, people of tender years, actually dying of starvation; and others of disease engendered or accelerated by famine. It has been shown that it was the policy of the Government to coerce the Indians into such action as it thought right by reducing them from rations to half-rations, and from that to quarter-rations, and I don't know how much lower, in order to starve them into removal. The Indian is very different from the white man in many respects. The habits of his life have led him to be improvident, and he gorges himself when he has a supply of food, and abstains very patiently when he can't get it. When you reflect that these half or quarter-rations are distributed weekly, or two or three times a week, to the head of the family, you can easily see, judging from the character of the Indian, what the result was likely to be. The starvation rations given out were eaten at once, and perhaps they were eaten by the buck, and the squaw and papooses were left absolutely to starve. This was done in some cases without any cause whatever. The food supplied was also unsuitable, and produced disease and death. There were other courses pursued of immorality and wickedness, to which, before a mixed audience, I dislike to allude, but which were certain to produce the worst results. The

WHOLE STORY IS HUMILIATING.

A national sin has received a retribution. The Indians were so misgoverned and mismanaged that they were ripe for revolt. And the Half-breeds, who should have been our influence for good, had also, as I have shown you, been alienated by neglect, delay, and mismanagement. It was under such circumstances that Riel came

in, and under such circumstances that the Government remained inactive during 1884.

“WHAT ABOUT RIEL?”

I shall now, with your permission, answer the question put me by a gentleman in the audience, “What about Riel?” I did not answer that question then, desiring to finish what I had to say upon the subject I was treating; but I am ready to reply. THE REFORM PARTY, ALTHOUGH THEY BELIEVED THAT THERE HAD BEEN ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT GREAT NEGLECT, MISGOVERNMENT, AND DELAY, FELT IT TO BE THEIR DUTY, WHILE THE REBELLION WAS AFOOT, TO ASSIST THE AUTHORITIES OF THE COUNTRY in the suppression of the revolt against law and in the restoration of peace and order. They felt it their duty emphatically to do so, having regard to the critical condition of the country, due to the Indian population. It was that fear of the Indians, the knowledge of the danger to those in isolated settlements, that induced us finally to say to the Government: “Go on; you know the danger, you keep information on this question to yourselves, you say you can’t tell us; all right, don’t tell us, but take all the men you say you want. Take all the arms and supplies necessary. We vote them freely; we will help you as far as we can so that order may be restored and the settlers saved.”

ORDER WAS RESTORED

and then came the process of the law against the rebels. You remember how, during the outbreak, the Government charged the white settlers of Prince Albert with being the most criminal persons in connection with this rebellion. And when the trials came on they sent instructions to their counsel that amongst the most important things they had to do was to ferret out this matter, find those wicked whites, and bring them to trial and punishment, for they it was who incited the Half-breeds to revolt, and they deserved a severer sentence than the others. No doubt the Government employed able and trustworthy counsel. No doubt those counsel did their duty. But they were enabled to find only two or three whites who were men worthy of being brought to trial. One of them was concerned, but, being insane at the time, he was acquitted; and one was found not guilty, nothing whatever having been proven against him. There were none others fit to be even brought to trial. They put thirty or forty Indians and about as many Half-breeds on their trial, and they put Riel upon his trial also. The question whether Riel was properly submitted to the extreme penalty of the law created great excitement. I was, at that time, not in the country. When I returned I found

THE COUNTRY IN A GREAT FERMENT.

I found an effort being made to create national, race, religious, and party issues upon this question. I found the *Toronto Mail*, for instance, declaring that the whole French and Catholic population were going one way on grounds of nationality and creed, and were to attack the Government because a Frenchman and a Catholic had been executed, and calling upon all other races and creeds to support the Government, and so, forsooth, to put down this national and religious cry. I SAID THAT A QUESTION WHICH INVOLVED THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, A QUESTION WHICH INVOLVED NATIONALITY AND RELIGION, SHOULD NEVER BY MY CONSENT OR BY MY INFLUENCE, OR IF I COULD PREVENT IT, BE MADE A PARTY QUESTION AT ALL. I want the administration of justice to be discussed, as I want all questions which may touch religious or national feelings or prejudices to be discussed apart from party bias, so that no consideration of party zeal may influence us to do things that would tend to impair the administration of justice, or to inflame religious or national passions or prejudices. (Cheers.) For myself, and for my party as its leader, I gave my pledge that when that question came up it should be considered and voted on by us as each man, after patient attention to the attacks upon the Government on the one hand, and the defence of the Government on the other, should deem in his heart and conscience it was right and proper to vote, and that we would not attempt to form any party connection. I declared that upon it we would be, as I believed, divided in opinion, and would vote according to our individual opinions. On the other hand I declared that

THE WICKED ATTEMPT OF "THE MAIL" AND THE OTHER TORY
ORGANS TO RAISE A NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ANTI-FRENCH
AND ANTI-CATHOLIC CRY,

on the representation that all the French and Catholic members would vote against the Government, was based on a mis-statement. I stated my conviction that with them, as with the Reform party, opinion was divided; and I assured the people that the cry of the Government in danger was only a device to entrap and excite portions of the people into a disastrous war of race and creed. As I said, so it was. The Liberal members made no party connection, gave no party vote; each man voted perfectly freely and as, in his conscience, he thought right, and we were about equally divided. It was

A DIFFICULT AND COMPLICATED QUESTION.

I would like to discuss it before you at length, but, for want of time, I am compelled to deal with only some of its phases, and in a few words. The main point in my mind was this: Was the man intellectually in such a condition that the extreme penalty of the law should be inflicted? Our law for all crimes recognizes a great distinction between the moral guilt of men, even though they commit what is known to the law as the same crime. The degrees of provocation, of premeditation, of imbecility, or insanity, are among the elements taken into consideration as affecting the moral guilt and the consequent punishment. In all crimes known to the law, except one, the weight to be given to these considerations is decided by the judge. If you have attended the assizes as jurymen or witnesses, you have probably seen two men convicted on different days of the same legal crime. At the close of the assizes the judge sentences both; and in one case he may send a man to the penitentiary for fifteen years or for life, and another guilty of the same legal crime he may send for three days to gaol. IF THEY WERE CONVICTED OF THE SAME CRIME, WHY NOT GIVE THEM THE SAME SENTENCE? Because, though the crime was the same, the moral guilt was different, and what would be only adequate punishment in one case would be far too severe in another. Out of 279 sentences which do not affect the life of the prisoner, and in which the judge apportions the punishment to the crime, only one is in practice altered by the action of the Executive. This is because the judge has apportioned the penalty; but in the capital sentence the judge, under the law, is bound to pronounce not the appropriate sentence but the extreme sentence of the law, and the duty he discharges in other cases is handed over in this case to the Executive. It cannot be contended for a moment that there may not be as many shades of guilt in murder as in assault or robbery. The consequence of this distinction is that one out of every two capital sentences instead of one out of 279, is commuted in Ontario and Quebec. In England less than half the men sentenced to death are really executed. Why? Because the Government is bound to consider each case and to decide, as the judge does on other cases, on the extent of responsibility and of moral guilt. NOW THIS MAN HAD BEEN CERTAINLY MAD. That is disputed by no candid man. HE HAD BEEN IN THREE LUNATIC ASYLUMS. HIS DELUSIONS WERE PROVED AND KNOWN. If I had time to tell you of those delusions, you would see that they were such as no sane man could hold. He recovered and was discharged from the asylum. The rule is, as established by experience, that three persons out of four who have once

become insane either continue insane or become insane again. The probabilities were therefore that, though he had recovered, insanity would at some time manifest itself in him again. He was proved to have suffered under the same delusions, the same aberrations of intellect, in the North-West, as he had suffered under when in the asylum, and under others also. I came to the conclusion, and I believed as clearly as I believe I am standing here to-day, that

HIS INTELLECT WAS SERIOUSLY DISTURBED

and unbalanced, that he was insane. Having been myself a Minister of Justice, having years before been called upon to discharge perhaps the most solemn and painful duty that can be laid upon a man—practically upon my own responsibility to determine whether a fellow-creature's life should end on the gallows, or whether it was compatible with or due to the interests of justice and the good of society that he should suffer the secondary punishment of imprisonment for life—it became my duty then to consider these questions in relation to the principles which underlie them years before this case occurred. I came to the conclusion then that where a man's intellect was seriously unsettled, though he might have some responsibility, and though the interests of society might require his punishment, I ought not, as Minister of Justice, to advise that such a one should be consigned to the scaffold, that I might send him to the penitentiary, and then, according to circumstances as they developed, let him remain there or remove him to a criminal lunatic asylum for his life. I applied the conclusions thus reached years before, after careful thought and study, to the facts before me, and saw that I could not honestly vote in favour of any decision but that the SENTENCE OF EXECUTION OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN COMMUTED—not that the man should be pardoned as so many have wrongly declared I said. I said that the man was guilty. He had, as the jury found, sufficient intellect to be properly declared guilty, but a secondary punishment ought to have been substituted for the extreme one of death. (Applause.)

THE VERDICT DID NOT SETTLE THE QUESTION.

The Government seem to have concluded that the verdict settled the question. It did not. Our law requires, in order to an acquittal on the ground of insanity, that the jury should be satisfied that the prisoner is so insane that he does not know right from wrong. I will not give you the other technical distinctions. This is enough for the occasion. This, then, is all the verdict proved. But the great bulk of the lunatics in the asylums do, as any doctor will tell you, have a knowledge of right and wrong, and therefore

there remained matter for enquiry by the Executive. Though not so insane as to be entitled to a verdict of not guilty, was he of such disordered intellect as not to be a fit subject for the gallows? To put it as a great English judge described the case of a commuted murderer,

“THOUGH NOT MAD ENOUGH TO BE ACQUITTED, HE WAS OBVIOUSLY TOO MAD TO BE HANGED.”

That is my firm belief. But the Government deliberately decided not to enter on that question, and they claim that the verdict settled it. They are wrong in law, they are wrong in justice, they are wrong in humanity, and the principle they applied cannot, as I believe, be supported. The execution, then, was on this ground, as I thought, a blow at the administration of criminal justice. Other important points there were—points of the greatest gravity, but for their discussion there is no time, and I must pass them by. I voted then to regret the execution. I never gave a vote with so much pain in my life. The vote could do us no good, so far as the man was concerned. It was not a question of saving his life, for the man was dead. I knew, also, that a large number of my own friends were inclined to a conclusion, on information, as I believed, one-sided and inadequate, different from my own. I knew that many, whose judgment I value highly, thought differently from me. I knew too, that there was a cloud of passion,

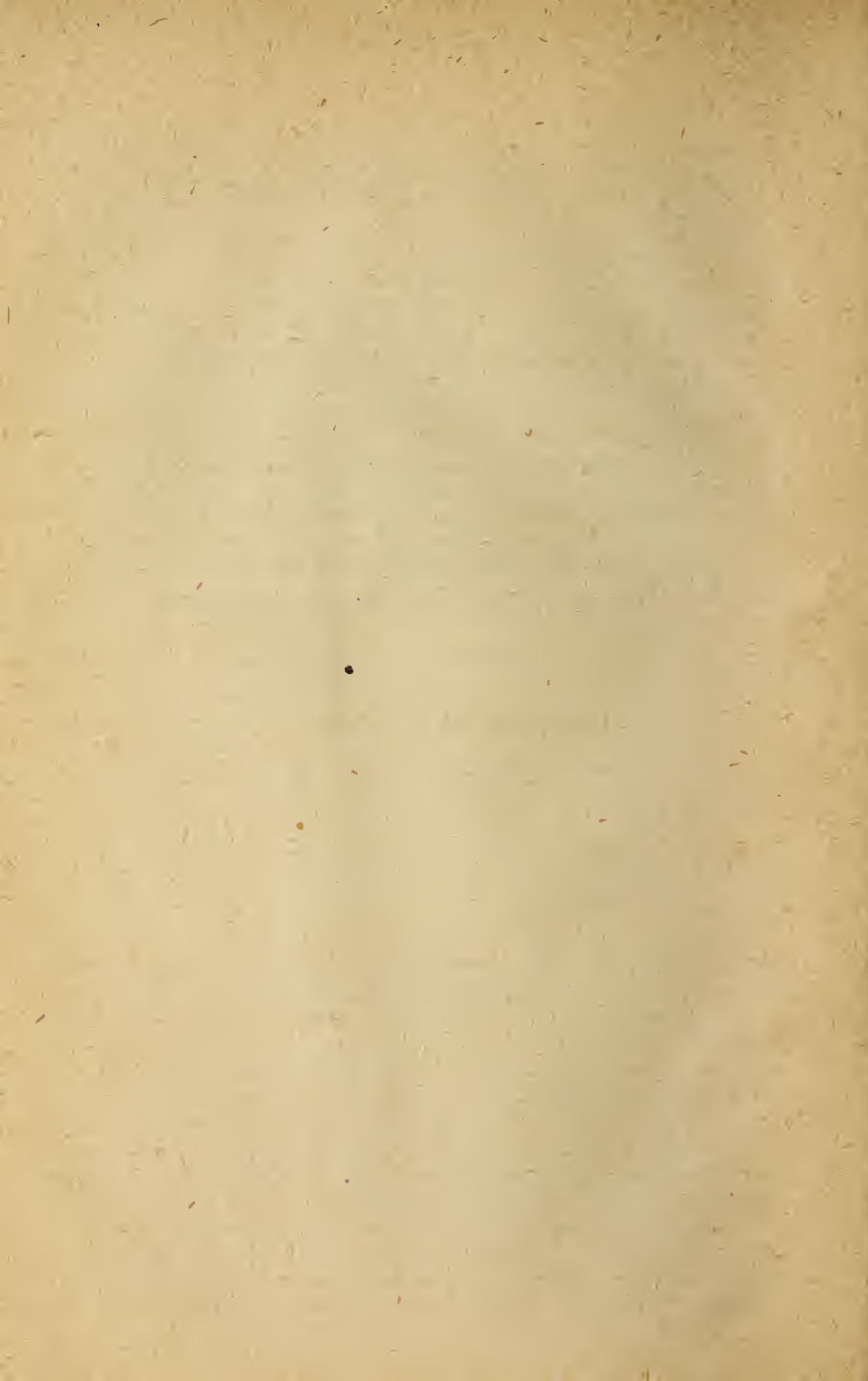
A MIST OF PREJUDICE ABOUT THIS CASE,

which was likely to prevent the formation of a sound and unbiased judgment among the masses of the population. I felt, however, that there was a principle at stake. I decided to give such a vote as would, in my belief, commend itself to the calm consideration of future years, perhaps of future generations, when that cloud of passion and prejudice should have rolled away. (Hear, hear.) I knew my conclusion would be unpopular. I was aware that it would lose me strength. I should have been glad to have done nothing which would shock the prejudices or affections, still less anything which would oppose itself to the judgment of honest, honourable, high-minded men with whom I had worked so long, and with whom it may after all be my fortune to co-operate in the future. But, as I said the other day to my own constituents, highly as I valued their mandate to represent them in Parliament, they would demand of me too high a price even for that great honour if, as a condition of continuing it, they should call upon me to sacrifice my convictions in order to satisfy their opinions. I understand that what they sent me there for was this—to act in general accordance with the great Liberal princi-

ples which they and I hold in common, and in all particular instances to endeavour to apply these principles; on every question to ascertain the facts of the case, to discover the law applicable to those facts; to strive to reach a sound conclusion as to what justice and the public interest required, and to vote accordingly, no matter whether I voted with or against their views; to take the consequences, whatever these might be, but in no case to violate my convictions. That was my duty; not from fear of incurring their displeasure, to give a vote which did not commend itself to the heart and head with which I was called upon to serve them to the best of my poor ability. (Cheers.) Knowing, then, that it would be distasteful to valued friends who were allied with me, while I would have been very glad to have given a different vote, could I have done so honestly, I GAVE, WITHOUT HESITATION, THE VOTE WHICH CONSCIENCE CALLED UPON ME TO GIVE, AND I ASK YOU NOW WHETHER IT WAS BETTER SO TO VOTE, OR TO VOTE AS SOME OF YOU MIGHT HAVE WISHED, AND AGAINST THE MONITOR WITHIN. (Loud and prolonged cheering, and voices, "You did right.")

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BLAKE AT BEAVERTON.

MISUSED MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT.

AN OBSTRUCTIVE SENATE.

Encroachments of the Executive Power.

THE GERRYMANDER. THE FRANCHISE BILL.

Mr. Blake favours

Residential Manhood Suffrage.

VIOLATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT.

THE BOODLE BRIGADE.

Contractors Testimonials to Ministers.

POLITICAL BONUS HUNTERS.

Boy Beaty's N.W. Central R.R.

Burns' Caraquet R.R.

" Robitaille's Bay des Chaleurs R.R.

" McGreevy's

" Caron's Lake St. John R.R.

Boy Chappleau's Gatineau R.R.

Pope's Short Line R.R.

" Macarthy's nicely subsidised line.

" Bergin's

" Hickey's

" " " "

THE BLIND SHARE GANG.

The Timber Limit Industry,

"Lucky Young Men," Sons of their "Pas."

BOODLEUM GATHERUM.

Mr. Blake said :—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I thank you very heartily for the kindness and cordiality of your greeting. In the course of our public lives it must happen to us who are engaged in the fore-front of the battle for the people's rights to pass many gloomy and many discouraging hours; sometimes, perhaps, we are like to faint in the conflict. Our main and substantial support, no doubt, must always be the conscientious conviction that we are in the pursuit of duty. But you add to that support consolation, encouragement, and good cheer when you enable us to reflect, as oftentimes in dark hours I have reflected, that there were many and many a thousand honest hearts who had never seen my face, never heard my voice, never clasped hands with mine, never exchanged with me a friendly greeting, yet still whose pulses beat high not only in zeal for the cause which I was advocating, but also with kindly, aye even partial, affection and good-

will for the man who, whatever his faults and failings, they believed was honestly endeavouring to promote their good. (Loud cheers.) Therefore, in no formal words, but from the bottom of this heart, I thank you for the kindness and encouragement of your greeting to-day.

We, in this country of ours, have a great advantage in one way over those who live in the land from which some of us come, and from which most of us are descended—the old islands beyond the sea—in having as a rule blue and bright skies. But in most things in life there are compensating advantages and disadvantages. In Britain I found that they who were accustomed to cloudier skies and a more weeping climate were not so much afraid of the rain as we who see it more seldom. I have known of many a great assemblage held under circumstances which would have deterred us from turning out in this our more favoured country. I have often thought that many of our people fancied they were made of material which would melt in a shower. (Loud laughter.) I am glad that there are so many thousands here to-day whose zeal the waters could not quench, nor the floods drown, to listen for a brief space while we discuss public affairs of the deepest interest to us all. (Loud applause.) Those who have engaged in these extensive preparations, more extensive, I dare say, than the weather has permitted to be made available, have always this consolation, that they did their part to the uttermost, and that they made every requisite preparation, and if there are some absent who would have been here under more favourable weather, the result is not due to the fault of the managers, but to circumstances over which they had no control. But I will say that I am gratified and surprised at the largeness of the numbers who are here. It is a lesson for the party at large and for each of us present—to do our best and leave the results to the great Author and Disposer of events. We have been accustomed in our time as a party to a good many dark days, to a good many threatening hours, but I rejoice to believe that

THE DAY BREAKS AT LAST,

that a season such as I have not known for many years of disturbance and unrest on the part of those who are opposed to us, and of those who take no active part in politics, and a season of interest, animation and stern determination to do their duty on the part of those marshalled under the Reform banner is apparent, and this is the

BEST OMEN OF OUR COMING VICTORY.

(Vociferous applause.) A long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together may lead, I believe, to results at the next election which

will surprise even those who are most sanguine to-day. I wish, however, to remind you that in this very riding of North Ontario, as elsewhere, we are labouring under special and peculiar disadvantages, and that even in counties in which

THE GERRYMANDER

did not effect its expected end and object, as it did not here, it is hoped to effect that end by the vexatious complications and difficulties to be imposed upon the people, and particularly upon the Reformers, by the operation of the Franchise Act. And I wish to remind you that no general leader, no local leaders, can do for you the work imposed upon you by these efforts to hamper you. It is your own work ; it must be done by yourselves in your local committees, in the various polling sub-divisions of each riding. And I warn you that it is not next year that the election is being run, but now. It will be decided in a few days or weeks in several of these counties. Before I pass to other questions I desire to impress this upon you, and to ask you to rouse yourselves to the effort to see that the organization takes place, even late as it is ; that earnest inquiry is made with a view to place every Reform name on the lists, and to

STRIKE OFF EVERY NAME

of our opponents which ought not to be there. (Applause.) There are so many topics which ought to be dealt with that it is impossible to handle them all, or, indeed, to deal with more than one or two. I should like to have spoken to you respecting OUR FINANCES, THE INCREASE IN OUR DEBT, THE INCREASE IN OUR TAXATION, THE TARIFF, THE RATE OF EXPENDITURE, ABOUT THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY, ABOUT NORTH-WEST AFFAIRS GENERALLY, INCLUDING THE MANAGEMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, WHICH HAS RESULTED IN SUCH SCANDALOUS AND HUMILIATING DISCLOSURES TARNISHING OUR FAIR NAME. I should like to have spoken about Provincial rights. I say we in Canada have a

HOME RULE QUESTION,

as well as the people on the other side of the water. Here, as well as there, it is essential to affirm the true principles of federalism, the principle of leaving large local liberties to our several Provinces, that we may create—for I regret to say that it has yet to be created—a true, real, cordial union of hearts and hands in those things common to all through the whole of Canada. (Loud cheers.) I should like to have spoken about economy, and retrenchment, and reform, including the superannuation abuse, and

to contrast the pledges and promises with the practices and performances of the men now in power. But some of these things I have already discussed, and you have the opportunity of knowing what I think of them through the public press. The subject I want to bring before you is of another character—it involves questions connected with

OUR MACHINERY FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT,

for the making of our laws, and the administering of our affairs. No subject can be more important than this. Apply, as I have so often said, a little of the common sense you use in ordinary affairs to public matters. Whether we are machinists, or manufacturers, or farmers, or whatever we may be, we all use machines. If a machine we are using is not constructed on sound principles it will not turn out good work. Moreover a machine requires repairing and oiling from time to time. Improvements are devised from time to time, weaknesses and defects are developed by experience; time brings decay. And these improvements must be adopted; oil must be applied; weaknesses must be remedied; repairs must be made, as we find requisite. The same rules apply to the big machine at Ottawa and the smaller machine at Toronto for legislating on and administering your affairs. They are machines constructed of different materials and on a different principle from those we use in our daily work, and they encounter other difficulties and are susceptible of other weakness, and require other kinds of improvements. But the general rules apply. I will refer first, as its dignity deserves, to the Upper House of our two Houses of Parliament. I say that part of our legislative machinery is not based upon sound principles, and it is not doing its work well. (Cheers.)

THE OBJECT OF A SECOND CHAMBER

under the Federal system, as stated by those who proposed it to the people at Confederation, was the recognition of the State or Provincial entities and interests as distinct from the common entity and interests. These latter were to be represented according to the numbers of the people in the several Provinces, and thus the majority was to prevail in the Lower House. They declared that for that reason the representation in the Senate should be on another principle; on the principle of practical Provincial equality. It has not been accurately carried out in later days, although that has been the substantial aim, in the execution of which Ontario, Quebec, and the three Maritime Provinces grouped together as one, have each equal numbers in the Senate. I say that as a protector of Provincial rights, as an asserter of those principles

which it was intended specially to guard, THE SENATE HAS PROVED A DISMAL FAILURE.

A Voice—We don't want it.

Mr. Blake—How has the Senate proved a dismal failure? How do I justify my statement? In this way: *We have had questions of Provincial rights, of the interpretation of the constitution in this regard; of complaints from one Province and another of difficulties of one kind or other of the special character in respect of which it was said the Senate was to be the guardian, and yet, so far as I know, they have never moved a finger for the protection of the Provinces or for the solution of these difficulties. And why should they? Why, it is absurd. It would be as sensible if you were to determine to give the wolf the power of appointing the sheep-dog who is to protect the sheep against the wolf, and then trust with confidence in the safety of your sheep, as to trust the guardianship of Provincial rights to a Senate nominated under the present system.* (Cheers.) Who is it that can work aggression upon the Provinces or impair Provincial rights? The Ministry of the Dominion, sustained by their majority in the Commons. These are the only persons whose interference you have to dread—the only possible wolves. Who appoint the Senate, the sheep-dogs of Provincial rights? This same Ministry. (Loud cheers and laughter.) And, of course, the men whom they appoint are those who sympathise with their views, men who will do homage to the authors of their legislative being, and will act and vote in accordance with the wishes of these very Ministers whose depredations are to be feared, and against whom the Senate is supposed to be a defender. (Renewed cheering.) There is

ANOTHER FUNCTION THE SENATE WAS ESPECIALLY INSTITUTED TO PERFORM,

that of revising hasty and imperfect legislation, and checking premature legislation. In this respect, also, the Senate, after nineteen years' experience, has been proven thoroughly inefficacious. *I have seen Bills which, even in our hurried and unsatisfactory way of disposing of business in the Commons, had taken long and weary sittings, sent up to the Senate, read the first time, read the second time, referred to Committee of the Whole, passed by Committee of the Whole, reported to the House, read the third time and passed, and sent down to us again almost in as short a time as I have taken to tell the story.* (Loud cheers and laughter.) How much revision is there in that? What is the good of it all? (Loud applause.) But

THE SENATE IS WORSE THAN USELESS,

for it may, at times, be very harmful. It is no good just so long as the machine is under the control and doing the bidding of those who have the majority in the popular chamber; but the moment the people's voice shall reverse that majority and give a majority to the side with whose opinions the majority of the Senate do not sympathise, it is no longer only useless, it may be very dangerous, because it may become a determined obstruction to the exercise of the people's will. I do not tell you that these gentlemen hold their offices by so secure a tenure that they would obstruct for a long time some measure which the people had obviously and firmly, by a large majority, decided to pass, and on which the people had earnestly set their hearts. Because they dare not. They would know that such a course might give rise to an agitation which would sweep their institution out of existence. You know, however, that in the case of the great majority of legislative and administrative acts, the people feel but a languid impulse, feeling strongly upon only a few leading measures. That being the case, the Senate would have it in its power, without great danger to its own existence, harmfully to obstruct the legislation of the House of Commons. *The present plan gives the Tories two chances.* As long as they are in power in the Commons they have the Senate with them, and if they are defeated in the Commons they have still one of the law-making bodies with them; and, if they cannot make the laws, they can by this means prevent the making of the laws which the people's chamber passes. Some of my Conservative friends may say: Well, that seems a good thing; we shouldn't change that; we want to have two chances. In speaking of this point before I have simply asked fair-minded, honest Conservatives to consider the old adage: "Put yourself in his place."

HOW WOULD MY CONSERVATIVE FRIENDS LIKE IT,

if, being in the majority in the Commons, they found themselves thwarted by a body nominated by their opponents? They would say it was bad and wrong. But what would injure them and what would be bad and wrong in their case, injures us and must be bad and wrong in ours as well. It is wrong for us all; and it is simply AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL WAY OF THWARTING THE PEOPLE'S WILL. They sometimes say, "Oh, there is no danger, a nominative body is weak and cannot be presumed to interfere in derogation of the people's rights." But they do interfere with the expression of the people's will. I remember very well when Mr. Joly took

office in Quebec, where they have a nominative Legislative Council, he had not a single friend in that Council. There happened to be two Conservative councillors who had become alienated from their own party, and they gave him some support. But for that he could not have put a Speaker in the chair of the Legislative Council. He would not even have had a man to move a bill in that house. In fact, he would not have been able to obtain a hearing in one of the two law-making bodies of the Province! It was the reduction of the system nearly to an absurdity. Yet *that is what the Senate of the Dominion may come to.* At present the Conservatives have 70 friends to about 14 of the Liberals, and the course of nature will increase this preponderance. Now the Legislative Council in Quebec refused to vote the Supply Bill, the very thing which all agree a nominative body, an Upper House, should least of all touch, and Mr. Joly's Government was actually subverted by that abuse of power. Modern experience has therefore proven that a nominative body may, and does, interfere with the expression of the popular will, and that the reasons thus advanced for the continuance of that body are not sound. *Again, this principle of nominative bodies is inconsistent with the modern democratic theories of the law-making power.* This was one of the main controversies in Quebec before the Rebellion of 1837. One of the principal grievances of which the people complained was that there was a nominative Council which had power to thwart the will of the people, and control the legislation of their representatives. It was out of place then, and it is even more out of place now, and in this democratic country, which ought to be free from all these remnants of feudal and aristocratic notions, that the members of one of the law-making bodies should be appointed by the First Minister and hold office for life. (Loud and prolonged applause.) *No matter how much he may betray his trust, so long as the Senator remains worth a thousand pounds, and can drag his limbs for a single instant once in every two years into the Senate Chamber, so long he holds his place as a maker of laws for you and me, and we cannot get rid of him.* I say that is a principle absurd on the face of it, and utterly indefensible in respect to the law-making power, and I maintain that if there is to be a second chamber it ought to be in some manner elected by the people, and in some manner responsible to the people in whose name and on whose behalf it is to make the laws to which we are all called upon to render a cheerful obedience—(loud applause)—and until that is established it cannot be said that we are really a self-governing people. I think, therefore, we ought to have

A SECOND CHAMBER OF REDUCED NUMBERS—I SAY OF REDUCED NUMBERS,

because that would avoid a considerable portion of the expense, besides diminishing the danger of collision between the more numerous and more popular body and the second or revising Chamber. I think we ought to have that Chamber appointed by election in one form or other, and, though at one time I rather inclined to another view, *I believe the best mode is by direct popular election.* (Cheers.) It is said that there may be danger in that of a dead-lock, because the Senate will be elected as well as the House of Commons, and will claim equal powers. You may have a dead-lock at any moment under the present system, and it would, of course, be possible under the directly-elective system. But there are many ways of obviating that difficulty—for example, the over-riding vote, the joint vote, the vote by a specified majority, the decisive vote after a session or after an election, a declaration as to the constitutional function of the body—the question has been solved and solutions have been suggested in many ways in various countries. The argument respecting that difficulty ought not, therefore, to prevail. My good friend behind me here, said a little while ago, while I was speaking of the Senate, “We don’t want it.” I am not prepared to adopt that view. (Applause.) *The example we have had in Ontario of conducting the affairs of a single Province with a single Chamber is certainly cheering and encouraging; but I maintain that the conduct of the affairs of a Dominion made up of several Provinces is a very different matter.* Besides, I cannot forget it was

PART OF THE ORIGINAL COMPACT

of Confederation, devised in the interests of the smaller Provinces, that there should be a second Chamber, in which the smaller Provinces should have a larger proportionate representation than they would have in the Lower Chamber, where the number was based upon the population. Therefore, I am not prepared to propose—still, less am I prepared to propose as a member coming from the largest Province, one having great numerical weight in the Lower House—that we should abrogate that pact, and take away that supposed safeguard of the smaller Provinces. Just so long as they conceive the possession of that supposed safeguard is of advantage to them, our best course, as statesmen, is to continue this portion of our legislative machinery on the principle on which it was originally introduced, making such changes as will add to its efficiency and guard against its obstructiveness, and

such is the policy of the Liberal party as proclaimed in Parliament and on the platform, and as we ask the people to ratify it at the polls. (Loud applause.)

I come now to

THE LOWER HOUSE,

of which I am a member, and in whose concerns you are chiefly interested. *The Tory policy has been and is to give to the Executive, and to remove from the people and the House all the control they can in reference to the making of the House.* You remember that when Mr. Mackenzie came into power, in conformity with his avowed principles, he deprived himself of the power the Tories had assumed after Confederation, of appointing, as they pleased, the Returning-officers at elections. He said:—I prefer not to avail myself of this power; I will act upon this view at the first election, and as soon as comes a session of Parliament, if I am returned, I will settle it for all Governments by legislation. So

WE RESTORED TO LOCAL OFFICERS

in your midst, to officers having duties to perform as citizens, and being men whose character, respectability, efficiency, and standing in society, ought to be guarantees of their good conduct, the functions of Returning-officers, though the vast majority of these men throughout Canada at that time were political opponents, or had been appointed by political opponents of ours. The Tories did not object to that change, but agreed to it, and it was carried out with the unanimous consent of Parliament. But no sooner did the Tories resume office

THAN THEY REPEALED THE LAW

and resumed the power of appointing the Returning-officers. They said:—It was a good thing to allow the other rule while our opponents were in power, because it gave us many friendly Returning-officers. But now that we are back in power we will take again the power to appoint only our friends to these offices, and the influence due to their being our appointees. We can appoint the registrars or sheriffs when they suit us; they will owe the office to us, and will not be ungrateful, and when they don't suit us we can appoint other people who do. Abuses have existed in the past in this matter. My friend and your friend, the member for this riding, Mr. Cockburn, experienced one of these abuses. I remember when it was my duty to call upon the House, as a matter of privilege, to amend

A SCANDALOUS RETURN MADE BY A RETURNING-OFFICER,

who chose not to return our friend, though he had been fairly elected. I succeeded. The Government found that they were dealing with a new Parliament, and a good many of their followers were not yet hardened by the constant process of voting for the wrong. After having denounced me as the proposer of a dangerous motion, subversive of correct principles, they were obliged to yield, and your present member was duly returned. (Loud cheers.) His case is an example of *the danger of allowing the Government to nominate the Returning-officers* who are to choose between them and their opponents. Remember this, that *the Government ought to be given as little power with reference to an election as possible, because the Government is one of the parties to that election.* Both parties ought to be on an equality. A case is to be tried, and the country is jury. If you give one party to a case power which affects the choice of the jury there is little chance of justice being done. Do not give to the Government in political affairs, powers you would be the first to reject if proposed to be applied in the case of a dispute in the ordinary affairs of life. (Cheers.) Again, with reference to the

VOTES OF THE CIVIL SERVANTS.

We have objected to the Civil Service vote as at present managed, not because the Civil Servants are not respectable people. But we do not believe in any vote that is not a free vote. "Franchise" means freedom, and if you give a man the franchise, and tell him how he must use it, you simply offer a case of contradiction of terms. I brought forward this case of Mr. Dodd, to which Mr. Edgar referred, in which *a member of Parliament by his own letter, was shown to have gone to a public officer and told him during an election that he ought to vote for the Government candidate, because he was the Government candidate, and because if he did not so vote he would run the risk of being turned out of office, for that was the rule.* His own letter proved that he had used those words. But *the man voted according to his own conscience, and not according to the bidding of his assumed masters, and he suffered the penalty, not by being in form deprived of his office, but by being shuffled out of it by a cunning device which I need not stop to describe, but the result of which to him was by the member's letter expressly ascribed to his vote—in truth it was because of his impudence in using his franchise freely.* They said he had taken an active part in the elections. I know nothing about that. The threat and the complaint made by the member was with reference to his voting simply, nothing more. I made my charge against

the member, and against the Government, for I declared that the Government, knowing the circumstances, had carried out the plot, and had in effect deprived the man of his office, and the Tory party in the House refused the committee of investigation for which I had asked. I would like to know, if this is the system, whether you think these are free votes or not. It is a

SCANDALOUS ABUSE OF POWER,

but it is only another instance of the Tory policy of controlling elections and electors, instead of making them free.

Take another case. There was an election for the county of Kings, Prince Edward Island. The Liberal candidate had a majority of about 86 votes. But the Tory Revising-officer made a double return. Somebody had put in a protest against the Liberal candidate, saying that he had been a member of the Local Legislature, and had not effectually resigned. The matter was brought up in Parliament, and notwithstanding our protest, it was referred by vote of the Tory majority to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. And that Committee decided by a party vote, not that the man who received a majority should be declared elected; not that the election was void and should be contested again; but that the man who had received a minority of votes, the man whom the people had rejected, should be declared elected, and should represent that county for the whole life of the Parliament. And the Tory majority in the House of Commons confirmed that verdict. We objected, and urged that the man who had the majority should be given the seat. If there was any irregularity he could be unseated in the regular way. But they refused. We said: Suppose that you are right, and that he is disqualified, that is no reason why the other man should have the seat; void the election and let it be contested again. But they refused that also. We asked them to refer the matter to the Supreme Court and not to insist that a political body, in which they were a majority, should decide a point of law. No, they said; we are bound to decide it ourselves. And *they did decide it themselves, these righteous judges, and they decided it for themselves, and I have been sitting for four years with a colleague in Parliament whom the Tory members of the House elected in spite of the people's verdict.* (Loud cheers.) Add to this the case of Sir Charles Tupper, whom, though his seat was voided, and he was ineligible for Parliament, they elected for Cumberland by Act of Parliament—(cheers)—and tell me whether these things should so be? Then we come to

THE GREAT GERRYMANDER,

by which they determined to control the popular vote of Ontario. They determined so to affect the bounds of the different ridings

that a practical popular equality on the gross polls should not be reflected by an equality in Parliament, but that a popular equality of votes should be represented in Parliament by a great Conservative majority, and a small Liberal minority. I need not talk about that in detail here. You know what was done in Ontario and Muskoka, what was done in the Simcoes and the Yorks. (Cheers.) I believe there are men from every one of those counties here. Desperate efforts were made by the Reformers, animated by that zeal which results from a sense of crying injustice and gross fraud perpetrated upon a people, and from a stern determination to redress the wrong. Some Conservatives, I rejoice to say, gave but half-hearted support to their party, and some went in opposition to it on account of

THIS INIQUITOUS MEASURE.

But you must not forget the dead weight so placed upon the Liberal party, though they were enabled in spite of it to gain victories here, in South Ontario, in North York, in East York, and elsewhere. (Cheers.) They were unable over the whole Province to overcome the effect of the gerrymander, and eight seats which they held by right were taken, while many more were nearly taken by the Tories. - However, eight or ten seats were saved to us on which the Tories counted as confidently as on those they won, but which the superior zeal and earnestness of the Reformers, and the candour and shame of a good many of their own supporters, prevented them from securing. (Cheers.) What was the result after all? It was this, that while we had at the polls almost an equality of the people, within one of an equality on a due return, we had in the House a majority of eighteen against us. I warn you that you must

DISPLAY ONCE MORE THAT DESPERATE ZEAL AND ENERGY

in every county which has been mutilated, if you would succeed in the next contest. They count on a diminution of your zeal. They say: "The Reformers will no longer be animated by that burning sense of injustice that drove them to superhuman efforts before, and; as for the Conservatives, we know them well. They are, on the whole, a carefully disciplined body. A few were slack, and fewer still were hostile, but now that the thing is done and cold, they will fall back into our ranks, and labour in the gerrymandered counties as well as ever." I look to you to defeat that expectation by continuing the zeal you showed before. I look to the Conservatives whose love of justice and fair play led them to abstain, or to take part with us before, to defeat that expectation of a relapse from probity, integrity, and high-mindedness, by

showing that they are still possessed of those qualities. (Cheers.) I want to say a word with reference to

THE EASTERN PART OF OUR PROVINCE.

That part of the Province is often misunderstood by Reformers in the West. It is true that we have been unable to return many members for the East, because the divisions of ridings, even as they were before the gerrymander, were wholly unjust to us. Notwithstanding our small representation in Parliament, the eastern part of Ontario, from the county of Durham to the border, contains a very large number of intelligent, hard-working, high-spirited Reformers—and I can prove it by the returns of the last election. I wish to make the eye help the ear in this matter, and I have prepared a little checker-board, on which you will see the result of the popular vote in the thirty seats from Durham to the border in the year 1882. The squares are, as you will see, pretty nearly black and white alternately. It is true there is one black one in excess of the white. I hope my Conservative friends will not mind if I say that in this little map they are represented by the black and the Reformers by the white. (Loud laughter.) I have not painted them very black, but still a good many shades blacker than the others. (Renewed laughter.) This shows

THE STATE OF THE POPULAR VOTE

at the last elections. In those thirty constituencies there were enough Reform votes to have elected (making allowance for acclamations and exceptional conditions) sixteen Conservatives and fourteen Reformers. That is what the people said at the polls, and all we ask is that the voice of the people at the polls shall be fairly echoed in Parliament, and if we are in a minority at the polls we are quite content to remain in a like minority in Parliament until we can convince enough people that we are right, to give us a majority. (Cheers.) This shows what the people said, and this (here the speaker turned the paper over) is what the returns to Parliament said for the same district. (The reverse side of the picture was received with loud laughter.) There you have a great black sea, with a little white island in the middle. Only three Reformers were elected, though we should have had fourteen; and twenty-seven Tories, though they should have had only sixteen. This is what happened, but there might easily have been worse and more of it; for if the Tories had managed to turn 150 votes in these three riding which returned Reformers, they would have made them return Tories, and the little white island would never have appeared above the surface, although our proportion of the popular vote would not have been noticeably affected. We

would still have fourteen-thirtieths of the votes, without one single member to represent them. Even in a case like that

THE GERRYMANDER WAS OPERATED.

One would have thought that in Eastern Ontario, where they had already enormous advantages—where they could count on over twenty seats as things stood, far in excess of their rights—shame and decency would have prevented the Tory majority in the House from altering the bounds to hurt us still more. One would have thought they would have been contented with having all the seats but eight or so, when they ought to have had only sixteen to fourteen, but they were not. They took from the County of Carleton, a Tory stronghold, a township or two, knowing they could spare them from Carleton, and added them on to North Lanark, so that my friend, Mr. Macdonnell, who got a majority of 200 votes in his old riding, was defeated by 80 votes through the tacking on of these other townships. They added the Tory township of Kitley to the constituency of Brockville, and by that means they turned a majority of 80 against them in the old riding into a majority of about five in their favour in the new creation. So to the man that had much, more was given; and from him that had not, was taken away even that which he had. (Laughter.) *From me, who should in justice have had fourteen supproters, and would have had five, at any rate, on the old boundaries, all were taken away but three!* And that is what a free people approve of and admire. They do not deserve to continue free! (Cheers.)

THE COMMONS OUGHT TO BE A MIRROR OF THE PEOPLE

at large, politically. If it is so, it is a truly representative body; but if you debase it into a machine to be artificially arranged by one party to represent its opinions, even when they are not the opinions of the people, you prostitute it to the vilest party ends—you deface the fair form of representation; you destroy its substance, and you may as well give up its theory.

I refer to another thing. The Tories have not only taken the appointment of the Returning-officers, manipulated the Civil Service vote, and carved up the districts so as to secure the best possible results for themselves, but these things not succeeding to their entire satisfaction,

THEY PROPOSE BY THE FRANCHISE ACT TO TAKE ANOTHER STEP.

The Federal system in its nature points to the Provincial franchises as the true franchise for the Commons House of Parliament. You must remember the principle of representation in the Lower

and popular body, as established by Confederation, is that each Province shall be represented according to the number of souls that inhabit it. The men who are in the best position to say how the mind of the Province shall be most accurately represented are the people of the Province themselves, and the form which they choose for that representation for their own Local House is the form which should be adopted for Federal purposes. (Cheers.) That is the plan pursued under the constitution of the greatest example in ancient or modern times of a country established upon the federal principle—the United States of America. Our own experience pointed to the same course, for we had been eighteen years under that system, and I have yet to learn of the first man who showed, or could show, that any substantial grievance existed. There are other reasons. Our country is large, extending over four thousand miles. It is inhabited by different people of different races, different creeds, different conditions as to occupation, realized wealth, prosperity and advancement, and with different views. How can we best be sure that the mind of each section shall be fully represented in the House of Commons? Certainly by adopting the method which the people of each section have chosen for themselves. Any effort to establish

A CAST-IRON PRINCIPLE OF UNIFORMITY MUST RESULT IN REAL DIVERSITY,

because if you apply the same system to different conditions the result must be diversity, and not uniformity. Again, one of the first rules which ought to animate a self-governing people is that you *should impose as little labour, expense, and difficulty as possible upon those who desire to get their names on the list of voters*, or to keep them there, and to exercise their franchise. A double franchise, a double list, double machinery for making the lists, and different systems of appeal—all this means enormous expense. THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS WE VOTED LAST SESSION ON ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE FRANCHISE ACT FOR THE YEAR. We do not know how much more it is going to cost. They can't even tell us how much the printing is to be. *They make jobs of this printing, giving it to their supporters at high prices*—prices in many cases, as I am informed, twice and thrice what like work has been done for, and admitted to be largely in excess of the cost of the Ontario lists. They cannot tell us what they are going to pay the revising officers. We asked that question the session before last. They said they could not tell, but that next session they would bring down a measure which would fix the rate. We asked this session what the rate was to be, but they said they had not decided. *They do not tell these revising officers, who are to be so*

thoroughly independent of both sides, what their pay is to be. They say to the revising officers in effect: According to your work so shall your reward be. (Cheers.) Neither public nor revising officers are to know how much, or on what principle, they are to be paid. But this is not all, or nearly all, the cost of the Act. The largest part is

THE COST TO THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES,

the actual money cost of revising the list, of putting names on and striking off those that should not be there, the loss of time, labour, and money to members of Parliament, to candidates, and to active party men. Even *the loss of time is enormous*, and it is all a loss to the country, for the men who spend their time thus are obliged to give up their ordinary avocations which increase the wealth of the country. *I want to see the cost of getting into Parliament made as cheap as possible.* (Loud cheers.) I don't want to see a plutocracy established in this democratic country. *I don't want to see the law so arranged that only he who is a rich man, who can afford to spend hundreds of dollars to get names on the list, may aspire to represent the people.* (Cheers.) I want to see the avenue kept open so for all those who deserve to reach the goal, no matter whether their purses be light or heavy, and I warn you that *so long as you choose to have a system which is expensive and complicated*, and so long as you do not like—and I suppose few do—to pay the expenses yourselves, *so long you are putting a tax or duty upon the man who has a light purse, and giving an advantage or protection to the man with a heavy purse, in the race for legislative honours.* (Cheers.) Then, again, the system of making the lists leaves less power with the people, and gives more power to the Government, and is all wrong.

IN ENGLAND WHO MAKE THE LISTS ?

Local officers appointed by local administrative bodies, whose members are chosen by the people as in Ontario. This is one of the most valuable features of British institutions, this system of minor local boards, and it is very useful to give dignity and importance to these minor boards, such as must be given by entrusting them with the making of the lists for the great national elections. BUT OUR GOVERNMENT SAYS:—WE CANNOT TRUST THE MUNICIPAL COUNCILS TO APPOINT THE PROPER OFFICERS TO MAKE THE LISTS, OR TO ATTEND TO THE REVISION. WE MUST APPOINT INDEPENDENT MEN, WHO WILL NOT BE CORRUPT, WHO WILL NOT BE PARTISAN, WHO WILL DO THE FAIR THING, WHICH OUR MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS AND LOCAL ASSESSORS CANNOT BE TRUSTED TO DO. WE, ONE PARTY IN THE PARLIAMENT, ONE PARTY TO THE

CONTEST, IN ORDER TO SECURE EVEN-HANDED JUSTICE, AND PERFECT FAIR PLAY TO THE PEOPLE AT LARGE, WITH THAT HIGH PURPOSE, AND NO OTHER, OF COURSE, WE WILL TAKE THESE APPOINTMENTS INTO OUR OWN HANDS. THEY SHALL BE OUR OFFICERS. WE WILL NAME THEM SO THAT IT MAY BE PERFECTLY CERTAIN THAT THEY WILL DECIDE AGAINST US WHEN THEY OUGHT. (Loud cheers and laughter.) I never said that the municipal councils or assessors always did what was right in this matter. But I say, take it by and large the whole Province over, that, as far as my experience goes, the lists were made and revised with reasonable fairness under the officers appointed by the municipal councils and the municipal councils themselves. (Cheers.) There were some exceptions, of course, and they were to be deplored, but, take it as a whole, there was no general cause of complaint respecting the system of making or revising the lists, and there was an efficient and cheap appeal in cases of injustice. *The Government not only names the man to make the lists, but names the man to revise them—and they are the same man.* (Laughter and applause.) The man who has made the list, and has declared as to the right of so-and-so to be on the list, must hear the appeal upon that case and decide it. I would rather have some other person declare whether the officer was right or wrong than himself. The English Government never dared to propose to the English Parliament that they should be empowered to name the persons to revise the lists. *The English Ministers are men of high station, in conspicuous places before the world. They are actuated, as a rule, by pure motives, and would, if any would, be perhaps hardly likely grossly to abuse such a trust.* Yet they

NEVER DARED TO SAY TO PARLIAMENT:

Give us the power to name the men who are to revise the lists. What do they say? They say: Give the high judges of the land, while sitting in the courts administering justice, and as connected with their administration of justice, when they hold the great Court of Assize for the county, give them the appointment of the Revising-officers. *No partial man, no partisan, no politician, no party to the contest does this in England, but a judge of the highest court, holding a most exalted office for other functions, elevated above the mists and passions and prejudices of partisanship, sworn to do his duty, and doing it amongst the people and under their eyes, whose prime condition of life is that he should do justice in everything in which he officially acts.* Here our partisan Ministers are so much more exalted above partisanship, so much more to be trusted, that what no English Ministers ever dared to ask the English Parliament to commit to them, and what the English

Parliament would have refused had it been asked, is asked for by the Canadian Ministers and granted by the majority in the Canadian Parliament, knowing, doubtless, that that was FOR THEM THE EASIEST ROAD BACK TO PARLIAMENT. (Loud cheers.) I make no charges against the whole body of Revising-officers, but I do say that in some cases most

IMPROPER APPOINTMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE.

Take one instance, that of the County of Carlton. That is the Prime Minister's own riding. In the election of 1882 he had a lawyer as his financial agent, a man occupying the most intimate and confidential relation to himself necessarily, a man entrusted with looking after his receipts and disbursements and his interests during the election. That man has been appointed by the Prime Minister to revise the voters' lists in that county. (Cheers and laughter.) Will that appointment change him? Partisan last election, this time he is so far removed above party that he is to revise the lists on which everything depends. I don't know whether he is going to be financial agent again; I suppose not. That would be too great an outrage upon decency for even this Government to be guilty of. But I think it an outrage upon decency as it is. When you can find such things in the case of the Prime Minister, you can take that sample and judge of the rest. (Cheers.) But I say that improper appointments have been made, and improper persons made judges, and needless judgeships created, to serve this fraudulent purpose. We have had a good deal of trouble already, and I fear we shall have more. We have had

NAMES ILLEGALLY PUT UPON THE LIST

by the hundred—in one division of Toronto I am told they have been thus put on by the thousand. They had no right to be there, but they were put on in the expectation that a law would be passed this session legalizing them, and so prevent their being taken off. They were put on at almost no expense, but the Reformers have to go to great expense to take them off. They tried to legalize it all. They brought in a clause which, if passed, would have kept on the list the names thus illegally put on. And they would have passed that clause, but that the Liberals showed a determination to stay until the fall if necessary, and fight the question out, and that being so they thought better of it, and withdrew it rather than provoke such a contest. (Loud cheers.) But they suspended the operation of a clause by them brought in, which, if it had effect, would have lightened our load a good deal. Under this clause a man whose vote was objected to was obliged

to attend at the final revision without pay, or run the risk of having his name struck off. Being forced to withdraw the provision which would have legalized the names wrongfully put on the list, they determined to suspend this latter clause until after the next revision. But why? Surely what is to be good then cannot be bad now. (Cheers.) Why? Because they had an enormous advantage, and would make that advantage less if we could compel the attendance of these men without paying them. And so

WITH REGARD TO THE FORM OF OATH.

Your old form of oath was some guarantee and protection in case men were wrongfully put on the list. At first they brought down a form of oath of that kind, but after reflection and consideration, and after finding the condition of the lists, they struck it out and *brought in another under which a man whose name is wrongfully on the list might vote without having to swear* that he was entitled to vote. *They knew they had large numbers on the lists who could not take an oath declaring that they were qualified*, and so they withdrew what they had first proposed, and left us without that protection. As to the franchise, I would not seek to force my views respecting the franchise upon any other Province, for I believe that each Province should be allowed to deal with this matter for itself. (Cheers.) Take the great question of

FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

In Ontario a great many people are in favour of the suffrage for women. (Loud applause.) In Quebec a very large majority are determinedly hostile to the principle of giving the suffrage to women. Why should Ontario force suffrage for women upon Quebec? (Cheers.) Why should Quebec insist that the people of Ontario should not give the women of the Province the franchise if they desire it? (Renewed cheers.) Let each Province decide for itself. (Loud applause.) By giving the greatest freedom in this respect you avoid friction and conflict, and get each Province fairly represented. But I have declared in the House, and I repeat it here, that if there is to be a Dominion franchise, inasmuch as the Dominion does not touch questions relating to property, and having regard to our system of taxation, under which every man who is not a pauper must pay a share through the Customs, and having regard also to our system of defence, I SHOULD FAVOUR, AS THE ONLY SENSIBLE DOMINION FRANCHISE, RESIDENTIAL REGISTERED MANHOOD SUFFRAGE. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) It would be the simplest and plainest; it would make no very serious difference with reference to the character of the franchise; it would avoid

the complications, doubts, uncertainties, and in a large measure the expense of the present system. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

I now come to another and most important question—

INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT.

I have spoken of the principles upon which the parts of our legislative and administrative machine should be selected. But, after you have the machine so far put together, you must see that it is so regulated as to do its work properly. After electing your members to Parliament, you must see that the conditions of action will lead them to do their duty. The relations of the Executive and of members of Parliament to the public treasury, and to public contractors, must painfully press themselves upon the mind of every Canadian who has at heart the honour of his country, the respectability of its Executive, and the independence of its Legislature. It is necessary always to take precautions for the avoidance of corruption. You know who it was that said,

“A GIFT BLINDETH THE EYE,”

and in all times a principal danger to popular institutions has arisen from the corruption of those who were charged with the people's business. Our country is a country of workingmen, of those who themselves earn the bread they eat, and not a country of wealthy men. A moment ago I said that *the avenues to the legislative halls should be freely open to those who live by the labour of their hands or of their brains*. But it would not be prudent, it would not be common sense not to consider, as people in other lands have had to consider, and to guard against the dangers naturally growing out of the situation. There are temptations with reference to money, wealth, patronage, office, which, in the nature of things, more seriously affect people in our pecuniary circumstances, which more seriously affect us who are not absolutely beyond the reach of want, affect us who are dependent upon our continued exertions for the maintenance of ourselves and our families, than they do the man who is very wealthy; not, God forbid! not because the poor man is of a less noble nature—it is not so—but because his circumstances, in the very nature of things, intensify the temptations in his case. So in wealthy England, and still more here, IT HAS BEEN MADE PLAIN THAT WE MUST SCRUTINIZE CAREFULLY THE RELATIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE AND OF MEMBERS WITH CONTRACTORS AND WITH THE TREASURY. Laws have been made with regard to some of these relations, and these laws have been made more stringent from time to time as abuses were shown to grow up. The custom of Parliament has also been a protection,

for we have our customs—of late, I regret to say, not very strictly observed—which make certain prohibitions in these regards. But the main safeguard, after all, is and must be public opinion. (Applause.) We must evince a lively and determined public opinion; we must express the general view of people of all sides, and from all quarters, *that the public man, as a prime condition of retaining the public confidence, must keep himself*

NOT MERELY FREE FROM REPROACH,

but free from cause of suspicion, must thrust far from him, as an accursed thing, even the very appearance of evil, must have nothing to do with any transaction of which it can be said, not even that it did affect, but that it was calculated to affect unfairly his public conduct. Unless you lay that down as your rule, if you think that because it is the action of some one of your own party you ought to approve, that because it suits your party purposes to permit these doubtful, these dangerous, relations, you will suffer them to exist, you degrade your Parliament, and you degrade yourselves. (Cheers.) How shall we gain the best security for

PERFECT FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF ACTION

on the part of our Executive and Legislature? This question is before us to-day. Take the case of your school trustees. They live amongst you and are constantly under the full force of local public opinion. You elect them yearly and can punish them quickly. You know what the law with regard to them says. Now, human nature is the same in the narrow sphere of the school trustees' action as in the great machine at Ottawa. What says the law to the school trustees? Here is what the Act says:—

“Any trustee who has any pecuniary interest, profit or promise or expected benefit in, or from, any contract, agreement or engagement, either in his own name or in the name of another, with the corporation with which he is a member, or who receives, or expects to receive, any compensation for any work, engagement, employment, or duty on behalf of such corporation, shall *ipso facto* vacate his seat, and every such contract, agreement, engagement, or promise shall be null and void, and the remaining trustees, or a majority of them, shall declare the seat vacant, and forthwith order a new election.”

You bind them tightly and justly, for though a man may not in the slightest degree be affected because he is interested, still it is not likely, it is not human nature, that he should be unaffected, for “a gift blindeth the eye.” And in your choice you consider whether a man has kept, not merely the letter, but also the spirit of your law. This is a disagreeable subject. Our political con-

troversies on public questions are bitter enough in tone. They are far bitterer than I like them to be. I have a great desire that we should conduct our political discussions in measured and moderate language, with proper regard for the feelings, opinions, views, aye, even the prejudices of our opponents, and that we should live as good citizens, good neighbours, and good friends in private life, though we may differ as to public questions. But when personal questions are introduced, political bitterness is, doubtless, intensified. Still, I believe with those who have preceded me that it is a duty, though a painful duty, a duty from which I have often shrunk, to speak and speak aloud on this subject.

YOUR MINISTERS ARE THE CHIEF CRIMINALS,

for they themselves offend, and they are the cause of offence in others. An old and very gross case of improper dealing was that which arose in 1872, with reference to an intending contractor for the Canadian Pacific Railway, Sir Hugh Allan, when enormous sums were, at the solicitation of Sir John Macdonald and another leading member of his Government, paid to Sir John, to that member, and to Sir Hector Langevin, to be used in the elections, on a promise and understanding between the parties with reference to the arrangements for the chartering of the Pacific Railway Company, under the powers conferred on the Executive at their request by Parliament. I say that is a

GREAT AND NOTORIOUS CASE OF ILL-DEALING.

But there is one difference between that case and some of the other cases which have been referred to lately. The large sums received from Sir Hugh Allan were obtained, gentlemen, to buy you—(cheers)—to buy the electorate of Canada. They were not obtained, it is said, and I believe truly said, to put into the pockets of either the Ministers or members for their own use; they were simply to buy the electorate, and thus to secure the retention by the buyers of their offices and salaries. I do not know whether the distinction commends itself to you as one very favourable to the parties. I don't know whether you will be more or less insulted by the idea that the electorate was to be bought through the contractors' fund, and the Ministry so to retain its place, or by the idea that members of Parliament and Ministers are to be chosen not exclusively to serve the public interest, but to use their positions to benefit themselves. The distinction is made, and if it be any credit or advantage to the Conservative party I am quite willing to give it to them. (Laughter.)

THE CRIME WAS GREAT,

whatever the distinction, and should have been much more severely punished than it was. After a comparatively brief exile from power these men were restored to office, and *though at the first blush they had been downcast*, and many of their friends had been ashamed and humiliated at the disclosures, *yet that happened which often happens*, FOR THE PATH OF SHAME IS DOWNWARD, AND IT IS EASY—they all agreed at last to declare all this to be a slander and a calumny, and *that there never was any Pacific Scandal at all*. They have since then bettered their instruction ; they have confided in your lenity, in your forbearance, in your approbation of these methods of conducting public affairs, and have gone further, without, as yet, faring worse. Whether they shall fare worse or not depends upon the next appeal to the people. Another case was the gift, several years ago, to the present First Minister, by means of

A SETTLEMENT UPON HIS FAMILY,

of the sum of about \$80,000, which was subscribed for and presented to him or to his family while he was First Minister of Canada. It was so SUBSCRIBED AND PRESENTED LARGE-
LY BY ACTUAL AND INTENDING CONTRACTORS, whose business it was to obtain favourable contracts from the Government, and having obtained them to get the largest prices for the least returns, and the most liberal allowances for extras that they could manage. It WAS SUBSCRIBED LARGELY ALSO BY PUBLIC CORPORATIONS GREATLY INDEBTED TO THE TREASURY, and dependent upon the Executive for favourable settlements of their indebtedness and favourable adjustments of their financial relations. I will refer to one instance, that of the

NORTHERN RAILWAY COMPANY

of Canada. That Company was indebted in an enormous amount to the Government of Canada. It was a bankrupt concern, and acknowledged its inability to pay its debt. It was calling upon the Government to ask Parliament to compromise the debt and to take for it a comparatively small sum. And while that was the relation of the Northern Railway Company to the people, and to the Parliament, and to the Government of Canada, they FOUND MONEY OUT OF THEIR POVERTY, out of their bankrupt exchequer, out of that exchequer which they declared could supply only a small composition on their debt to the public, TO PAY \$2,500 TOWARDS THE TESTIMONIAL TO THE FIRST MIN-

ISTER. (Cheers.) There was not money to pay you, but there was money to subscribe for him. What happened? That which you might expect to happen. Shortly afterwards a Bill was brought in by this same Government for the relief of the Northern Railway—(applause)—under which it was proposed to accept in full a small proportion of the debt. It came down very late in the session. Mr. Mackenzie, the leader of the Opposition, objected to the concession, and insisted that it was too late in the session to press such a bill, and declared that if it was pressed he would fight it. (Applause.) The terms were too favourable to the company, which should have been required to pay more. I heard the First Minister tell Mr. Mackenzie that he ought not to resist the Bill; that he would be responsible before the people for obstructing wise and useful legislation, and that the people would condemn him for it. (Laughter.) However, Mr. Mackenzie took the responsibility. (Cheers.) He was not a man to flinch from responsibility; and he thus defeated the measure. (Renewed cheers.) What ensued? *Mr. Mackenzie attained office a year or two later*, and he had to deal with this question, the settlement of which he had prevented on the terms proposed. *His Government made a settlement with the Northern Railway Company \$500,000 better than the settlement which was proposed by Sir John Macdonald*, which we had obstructed. *We saved the public that amount.* (Loud cheers.) *But we received no testimonial from the Company.* (Cheers and laughter.) I could give you other instances of those who subscribed to this testimonial and what their relations with the Government were, but one is perhaps enough for a sample. You will understand that *in the bulk of cases the settlements between Governments and contractors are so covered up that the facts cannot be got at*, and this makes it all the more important to prevent these relations between the Executive and contractors. Well, all this was approved of. It was thought to be rather an unhandsome thing to say anything about it. It was a matter to be silently agreed to. It gives me great pain, I confess, to have to refer to these matters, but the circumstances are such to-day that we are bound to point out to what these things will grow if you do not check them. The thing was approved or condoned, and two or three years ago the Minister of Public Works,

SIR HECTOR LANGEVIN, GOT HIS TESTIMONIAL TOO.

Why not? What is right for the chief is right for the second in command. He, it is true, has to do with the great bulk of the contracts for public works. He largely decides upon the conditions of tendering, advertises for the tenders, determines which

tender shall be accepted, determines whether the contractor has performed the work. He it is who gives the instructions for changes, who settles the bills for extras, which allow the greatest latitude for favourable or unfavourable settlement. He, I say, even above the others, ought to avoid, as a thing utterly abominable, any relations, except the direct business and official relations, with the contractors who have or may have business with his Department. •THE TESTIMONIAL HE RECEIVED WAS ABOUT \$20,000, and it was largely subscribed by public contractors who had claims against the Government, or hopes or expectations whose realization depended almost wholly upon his favourable decision. Many of these claims have since been settled. What has happened? This has happened—that many people suspect the Minister of Public Works of having been influenced in his decisions by the relation he allowed to exist between these contractors and himself as givers and recipient of a large and valuable present. It may or it may not have been so. No man can tell. We cannot judge. God knoweth! But the position is wholly indefensible. *To no public man ought it to be possible to say: With one hand you took from this man a testimonial, and with the other you settled his claim.* (Cheers.) Then we had the

CASE OF THE MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE.

The Minister of Public Works' testimonial passed off very well. (Laughter.) The people did not seem to object very strongly. The Tory party thought it all right. And so the Minister of Inland Revenue received his testimonial in the shape of a house and furniture, also largely subscribed for by public contractors and others with whom, as a member of the Government, he had relations, and as to the furniture, very largely by the civil servants of whom he was a superior officer. These I regard as very improper relations between a Minister and contractors, and between a Minister and the civil servants who are, in a certain sense, his subordinates and dependents.

THE CASE OF SIR JOHN'S DIAMONDS.

Then, sir, this very year, we have our very greatest public contractors, we have the principal magnates of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, a corporation having enormous financial relations with the Government, and at a time when an application was to be renewed which the Government had last year declined, an application for the cancelling of ten millions of dollars of their indebtedness to the country in lieu of a portion of their land subsidy, we have these magnates making to the lady of the First Min-

ister very valuable presents, the cost of which is variously stated. From the best information available I have believed it was at least \$15,000, but I see that the *Mail* newspaper declared the other day that the value was only \$5,000. I do not know whether the value was the price of one good farm or of three, but either is enough to condemn the transaction. (Applause.) In my opinion it was a most unfortunate thing that the First Minister, in view of the relations of the Company and his Government in times past, in times present, and in expectancy, should have suffered such a thing to occur. (Applause.) No gift of an important and valuable character such as this should have been accepted. What happened? The session came on, and the application of the Company, which had been rejected by the Government last year, was proposed by the First Minister himself this year. No doubt it may have been solely his sense of right and justice, it may have been solely his desire to promote the public interest that induced the change of opinion. I hope it was so. We cannot judge. That is just the difficulty. The unfortunate and indefensible relation was created, and the impression that all was not right was naturally produced. Gentlemen, these things ought not so to be. (Applause.) It is discreditable to us as a people that they exist, and exist, apparently, with the approval of one of the great parties in the State. There is

ANOTHER CLASS OF CASES

in which both Ministers and ordinary members are concerned, but in which the guilt of Ministers, as their power and responsibility are higher, must be deemed even graver than the guilt of ordinary members. When Ministers act as these have done, depend upon it members will follow suit. When the great and the high-placed in our land stoop to indefensible positions their examples will be followed all too fast. The path downward is easy and rapid, and if those who should be exemplars of public morality, public integrity, and public probity, who ought to be men above suspicion, place themselves in suspected positions, can you expect that others not so highly placed will not act in a similar spirit? Take the

RAILWAY GRANTS.

I say, and I say it with extreme regret, that a system has grown up—it is not an isolated case—a system has grown up under which the grants in aid of railways, whether out of the exchequer in money or out of the public domain in lands, the grants which give value to the charters, which give a price to the stock and bonds, which give a possibility of gain or increased gain to those who have control of the charters—UNDER WHICH THESE GRANTS

AND THE CHARTERS AND POWERS GIVEN BY PARLIAMENT ARE TRAF-
FICKED IN BY MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR PERSONAL GAIN. I
do not object to a public-spirited member of Parliament taking
an honest interest, as a public man, in railway development. Let
him labour as hard as he pleases as member for the development
of his county or his country. *But I do object to a pretence of public
interest being used to cover private interest.* I do object to the
admixture of private gain with the public duty. I do object to
members, not railway builders or railway contractors, knowing
no more about railways and having no more interest or concern
in them than the bulk of you to whom I speak, becoming ardently
interested in these enterprises, not so much for the promotion
of the enterprises themselves as for the accomplishment of schemes
under which large and valuable concessions shall be made tributary
to their own pockets. *If your representatives are to be suffered
to enter into such relations with enterprises to which value
is thus to be given through the public exchequer or the public
domain,*

THERE IS AN END OF ALL NOTION OF PARLIAMENTARY INDEPENDENCE

or integrity. Take the NORTH-WEST CENTRAL as an instance.
This was a railway in the North-West which was at first in the
hands of a non-political body of business men. They found some
difficulty in concluding the arrangements they wished to make
with the Government, and they thought it expedient to find fa-
vour with the powers that be. What was their plan? *They took
Mr. James Beaty, member of Parliament for West Toronto, and
put into his hands, mainly for his own personal use, a majority
of the stock, or \$286,000 of stock on which ten per cent. had been
paid, making \$28,600, but for which he paid nothing.* They said:
You take charge of this; we want the land grant and the loca-
tion, and you are the man to push them; you are a member and
a supporter of the Government. He took it up. He made

A POLITICAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

He put on MR. BUNTING, the late candidate in West Durham
against myself, THE EDITOR AND MANAGER OF THE *Mail*, a very
influential man in Tory politics. He put on MR. HAY, HIS COL-
LEAGUE for the Centre Division of Toronto. These were the poli-
tical directors for Ontario. Then he went to Quebec. He took
MR. BILLY and MR. RIOPEL, TWO WHOLE-SOULED CONSERVATIVES,
who, like that well-known American character, were "for the old
flag and an appropriation every time." He put these on the
Board to represent the Tory political element of Quebec. He
took MR. WOODWORTH, THE MEMBER FOR KINGS, N.S., to repre-

sent the Tory political element of the Maritime Provinces. And he took MR. NORQUAY, THE TORY PREMIER OF MANITOBA, to represent the Tory political element of the North-West. Thus these seven Tory politicians were banded together, and, having duly arranged the Board, the merits were laid before the Government in a paper signed by them, and

WHEN THE LAND GRANT WAS SO APPLIED FOR OF COURSE IT WAS GRANTED.

(Applause.) What else could you expect when such powerful representations were made by such powerful men? (Hear, hear.) I am not considering now the expediency of the land grant. I am pointing out the process which was found advisable in order to secure it, and the inevitable results of that process. Soon afterwards the grant at a price was found to be insufficient for the purpose, and they pressed that the grant should be made free. At first the arrangement was that the company should pay \$1 per acre for 6,400 acres per mile of the road. If their request were conceded, and the land grant made free, it would make them better off by \$6,400 a mile than they had been before. They applied for the free grant.

THEN CAME A LITTLE HITCH.

Mr. Woodworth said to Mr. Beaty: I don't like the way things are going on. It seems to me you are not recognizing my interests. It was agreed that you and I were to divide all the profits, after giving a certain sum to be divided among the other directors. Unless you recognize that plainly, so that I may know you mean to act up to it, I shall deem it my duty to use my influence to stop the free land grant. AND THE LAND GRANT WAS STOPPED. It did not come down to the House among the other free land grants that session. It was only provided for by Order-in-Council some time after Parliament had closed the session, when, as I assume, the influence of the other politicians had overcome Mr. Woodworth's. I must do Mr. Woodworth the justice to say that after having considered the consequences of this kind of transaction, he openly declared that he saw it was a mistake, and expressed his intention to have nothing further to do with them. I rejoiced to hear that manly declaration: after it my mouth is closed with reference to the part he took before without due consideration, a part which he obviously now regrets. If more of those who have blindly engaged in these enterprises, under evil influences, without seeing the mischief of following the

EXAMPLE SET THEM IN HIGH PLACES,

had followed in his footsteps, I would be better pleased, and would welcome home the wanderers who were finding their way back to the right path. He has seen that private interests are likely to be paramount when the pocket is on one side and duty on the other. You see it too. May we all see it while yet there is time!

Mr. Beaty turned Mr. Woodworth out. He alleged that no such understanding existed as was alleged. I do not know who is right; that question I leave to be settled between themselves. It is of no consequence to us. MR. BEATY INTRODUCED in his room another gentleman, THE MEMBER FOR PICTOU, N.S., MR. TUPPER, to represent the Tory political interest in the Maritime Provinces. I desire to do justice to the member for Pictou. He was told, it appears, that the free land grant had been obtained, that there was no more to ask, no more to expect from the Government, that all was settled, and that there were no delicate relations of that kind between the Government and the company. But when the revelations of last session were made, Mr. Tupper at once wrote a letter to Mr. Beaty, stating that he had become a member of the Board on an understanding which had turned out inaccurate, and he resigned his seat at the Board. That act did Mr. Tupper honour. (Cheers.) *But if Mr. Tupper's conduct is thus to be commended, what are we to say of the other Parliamentary directors of bonus-hunting railway companies? Can we praise him without blaming them? I doubt not Mr. Tupper disliked to do what he yet felt needful to do, and disliked it because his act was a condemnation of those who did otherwise. Measure their corn in the same bushel as Mr. Tupper measured his, weigh them in the balance which he used when he refused to sacrifice his position and his integrity by remaining in the company, and what will be the result? (Applause.) The corn will be found short in the measure, the men will be found wanting in the balance.*

Well, Mr. Beaty, got his free grant, and then went arranging, negotiating, financing, seeking capitalists who would undertake to build the road, but always with the intention of getting

“SOMETHING FOR THE BOY.”

(Cheers and laughter.) I do not mean that he intended to get anything for one individual boy—the boy Beaty—apart from his co-shareholders. They were all the boy, but he was the biggest boy of the lot. His share would be the greatest. There is noth-

ing to show, apart from the Woodworth squabble, that he intended to cheat his partners in the deal, and I do not suppose he did. But he wanted too much for the boy, and like many other people who try to get too much, he got nothing. But \$675,000, or something like that, was the sum which Mr. Beaty virtually proposed should be ultimately realized by himself and a few others. Some of the people to whom he went said :—" We will build the road, but we cannot give this amount of tribute to your people ; there is not that much money for the boy." So Mr. Beaty went on financing and negotiating, going to this man and that, and always looking after his public interest as member of Parliament, of course ; but always also casting sheep's eyes in the direction of some scheme which would give a little "boodle for the boy." (Laughter.) From time to time he wanted concessions from the Government, and of course he got them. Was he not member for West Toronto, with six influential Tory supporters at his back ? But the whole murder came out, and it was impossible for Mr. Beaty to go on. He has lost his chance, he has lost his expectations, and, worst of all, I am afraid he has injured his reputation as well. (Hear, hear.)

ALL THIS IS APPROVED OF BY THE TORY PARTY.

No, I ought not to say that. It is approved of by the Tory Ministers and the Tory members of Parliament. Whether it will meet the approval of the party has yet to be found out. We asked for an inquiry into these transactions. We asked for delays. We asked the Government not to grant the indulgences craved by Mr. Beaty and his associates on any terms, showing them that they should not extend privileges to men who had so abused their positions as members. But THE GOVERNMENT HAS LAID IT DOWN AS PART OF THEIR PLATFORM THAT THESE TRANSACTIONS ARE HIGHLY MERITORIOUS, and that it is a good thing that members of Parliament should be interested personally in the prosecution of these bonused railway enterprises. *They think there are not enough railway contractors, not enough business men and capitalists, not enough active, energetic men amongst the four or five millions of the population of Canada to carry out these enterprises, and that the country will suffer loss if your 211 members of Parliament are precluded from lining their pockets by means of public enterprises which owe their value to the action of the Executive.* (Loud applause.) I say it is an absurdity ; I say,

KEEP THEIR HANDS OFF ;

I say, let your representatives keep their hands out of the public chest, directly and indirectly. (Loud cheers.) Don't be gulled

by this idea with which they seek to impress you. If these men are going to interest themselves in these enterprises on public grounds, let them do so on public grounds alone; let them interest themselves without having any pecuniary relations with the Government or with the companies, and *let the money part of it be left to men not in Parliament, to men not charged with duties which demand their absolute independence of the Executive.* These men were not any of them railway builders or contractors; they were lawyers, doctors, manufacturers, and, above all, politicians. *This is an industry which has suddenly been largely developed in Canada.* Whether it is a wholesome and useful industry, that of members of Parliament engaging in public works of this kind, which owe their value to the public grants to be made by their leader, judge ye! Let me give you

ANOTHER CASE.

There was a charter for a railway through Gloucester, New Brunswick, the Caraquet Railway. The company got a cash subsidy of \$3,200 a mile, went on and built a considerable mileage, and last session, just at the end of the session, for that is the time when these grants are proposed, down came over thirty grants to railways, amongst them one of \$3,200 a mile for ten more miles of

THE CARAQUET RAILWAY.

I said to the Government:—Will you please lay upon the table the papers which show the applications for these grants? Yes, they said, and some they did. When that grant came up, I said:—I see this application is signed by a person of the name of Burns. Can you tell me if that is any relation to the hon. member for Gloucester? “Oh,” said the First Minister, “that is the member for Gloucester. He has been very energetic and very enthusiastic about building this railway, and it is greatly to his credit. Had it not been for his energy and enthusiasm the road would never have been built.” Very likely, I said; for here is another little paper, a list of the stockholders of this railway, and it shows that

MR. BURNS OWNS ELEVEN OUT OF EVERY TWELVE SHARES

in the company, so that *out of every \$1,200 proposed to be granted by this Government, \$1,100 goes into his own pocket.* (Loud cheers and laughter.) *And I believe he has paid nothing on his stock.* Why shouldn't he be enthusiastic, energetic, and persevering? (Cheers and laughter.) If you could arrange for a bonus \$1,200 to go to the improvement of your own farm and your neigh-

bour's, \$100 to go to your neighbour, and \$1,100 to yourself, no doubt you would be energetic and enthusiastic, too. (Cheers and great laughter.) Then there was

ANOTHER CASE,

that of the BAIE DES CHALEURS RAILWAY COMPANY. The Government has given to that company \$620,000. The bulk of the stock is held by half a dozen men. The largest shareholders are SENATOR ROBITAILLE, MR. RIOPEL M.P.; MR. M'GREEVY, M.P., AND SOME OF THEIR RELATIONS AND INTIMATE FRIENDS, all Tory politicians, holders of the bulk of the stock, say eleven-twelfths. They receive the bulk—say eleven-twelfths—of these enormous subventions by virtue of their relations to the Government. I believe the cash they invested was a paltry ten thousand dollars all told in stock. Then take the

CASE OF THE QUEBEC & LAKE ST. JOHN RAILWAY.

They had already received enormous subventions, and last session more was given them. I asked how much the paid-up capital was, stating that I had heard they had paid up only \$10,000, and they did not deny it. I believe that is the whole amount. They made a construction company to which they let the contracts. SIR ADOLPHE CARON, MINISTER OF MILITIA, is a member of the construction company, and other Tory members of Parliament are members of the railway company and the construction company. There is the

PONTIAC & PACIFIC JUNCTION RAILWAY,

in which MR. CHAPLEAU, Secretary of State, is interested as one of the chief directors, holding about one-eighth of the stock, and this road also has a large subsidy. The

GATINEAU VALLEY RAILWAY

Company is another case. MR. MACKINTOSH, one of the members for Ottawa, is chief promoter, and I believe, president. This road also has a large subsidy. Then there is the

INTERNATIONAL RAILWAY COMPANY,

in which MR. POPE, THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS, himself was interested as a large proprietor. This was doubly scandalous, for it was the case of a Minister, and of the Minister of Railways. (Cheers.) That road has a large subsidy also, given to it in order to enable it to exchange its iron rails for steel. Besides that, it was concerned in certain negotiations for the extension of the Can-

adian Pacific Railway to the east. I said: Those routes you are going to decide on are routes in the choice of which the Minister is interested. It may put money into his own pocket. How can he be an indifferent judge? He said that for that very reason he had sustained from acting, and the First Minister had taken up the job. *But the Government had to decide it, and whoever had to do with it, it was his road that gained.* (Applause.) But more than that; there were negotiations going on about the same time, which have since been consummated, with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for the absorption of this International Railway as part of the plan, and for the payment of millions more out of the treasury to carry out the plan.

Besides, while interested in this railway, whose shareholders were to be helped out of the public treasury—a railway in respect of which, I believe, **PRINCIPAL SHAREHOLDERS OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC HAD UNDERTAKEN, BY ARRANGEMENT WITH MR. POPE, LARGE OBLIGATIONS**—Mr. Pope was disposing, as Minister of Railways, of enormous claims and proposals of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company with reference to their contract, while all these other negotiations were going on, and these delicate relations subsisted between the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the International line. How could he be a fair judge for the public? I say it is wholly indefensible. (Cheers.) Then there was the

NORTHERN PACIFIC JUNCTION RAILWAY,

to which \$12,000 a mile was granted, while two corporations offered to build it for a bonus of \$6,000 a mile. The Government said, We are going to have an independent line. They asked from Parliament, and were given, authority to grant this great subsidy to whichever company seemed to them most in the public interest, the object being an independent line. They gave it to a company promoted by a gentleman whose name I am particularly sorry to mention in this connection—a gentleman of high position at the bar and in public life—

MR. DALTON MCCARTHY.

He had been the promoter of a Bill to incorporate the Sault Ste. Marie and North-West Railway, and was the holder of stock in that original company. He promoted the Bill to change the name to the Northern Pacific Junction Railway Company. Then came the question, to whom this subsidy should be given. It was settled in favour of Mr. McCarthy's line, in connection with a proposed lease to be made to certain other railway corporations, and upon that arrangement Mr. McCarthy, with the other original share-

holders, received a very large consideration in excess of anything paid, an enormous profit upon the original stock which he had subscribed, which stock owed its whole value to the subsidy. *Mr. McCarthy also received the presidency of the subsidized line at a salary, according to different statements, of from \$3,000 to \$3,500 a year.* And last session Mr. McCarthy obtained legislation under which this company was authorized to issue, and in case of the assumption of the road by the Government under its reserved rights, the country became bound to pay \$12,000 a mile more in bonds than the existing obligations ; though the whole amount of cost was thus raised to \$32,000 a mile, a sum far in excess of the estimated, and, so far as we could ascertain, of the proper cost. Grave statements were made on this head, and an effort was made to obtain an inquiry, but it was rejected, and the bill was forced through.

The relations I have described are

UNFORTUNATE AND INDEFENSIBLE RELATIONS

as between members of Parliament and railway companies depending for their fortune on the good-will and favour of the Executive which controls the grants and legislation of the day.

There are many other cases which I could mention, for example, **DR. HICKEY'S COMPANY, DR. BERGIN'S COMPANY, AND OTHER COMPANIES.** To cap the climax, *the wholesome legislation of Mr. Mackenzie, which precluded shareholders of the Canadian Pacific Railway from being members of Parliament, was in effect repealed last session*, so that you may soon expect to have shareholders in the Canadian Pacific Railway Company who have, and will for years to come have, the most important business relations with the Government and with the country, sitting in Parliament and legislating and voting on your concerns. (Cheers.) Then you have

THE BLIND SHARE BUSINESS,

in which a member of the House, trafficking in colonization companies, got an Order-in-Council for a block of land, arranging with the company that he should have an interest in the profits without risking anything ; in which a member of the Government approved the transaction ; and *in which the whole Government now see everything to approve, nothing to condemn.* Then you have

THE GRANTS OF TIMBER LIMITS, COAL LANDS, RANCHING LANDS, GOLD LANDS.

Many hundreds of applications were put in, and several hundreds of Orders-in-Council for licenses were passed, some to mem-

bers of Parliament themselves, but mainly to others through the intervention of members. All this is said to be no harm, it is said to be commendable that members of Parliament, as well as others, should take this interest in the development of the country. Talk about the N.P. and what it has done to develop industries, it is not to be compared for rapidity of development to that of

THE TIMBER LIMIT INDUSTRY.

(Cheers and laughter.) Order after order was passed in Council granting to almost every Tory who chose to apply and who had the necessary "influence," timber limits in different parts of the country. *These orders were not to lumbermen, or to those who intended to go into that business, but to Tory lawyers, Tory doctors, Tory storekeepers, Tory hacks, Tory wirepullers, Tory politicians, and Tory members of Parliament.* (Cheers.) These did not go into the business, of course they never thought of it; they intended to make a profit by selling out to those who were to work the limits. I rejoice that a great many of these apples turned out

APPLES OF SODOM.

(Applause.) The business had been "promoted" too largely. There were more orders granted than the real demand justified, and there were a great many limits granted on which there was much less timber than the plunderers expected. But some made a very handsome thing, and all expected to do it, and that expectation is what has created this wholesale *régime* of personal and pecuniary relations between the members of Parliament and the Treasury. It is amusing now to hear some defend themselves on the ground that after all they made nothing out of it! What has that to do with it? They

WENT IN FOR A BIG PROFIT,

and you might as well acquit the thief because the spoons were only brass instead of silver, as discharge these men because they did not realize all their expected gains.

They say there are a few Grits among the many Tories who applied and received Orders-in-Council. Take the lists of applicants and I think you will find there were *about 99 Tories to one Grit.* They say that the fact that one Grit was included proves that it was all right. But *it was*, I believe you will agree, *a scheme for carving up the timber limits and ranching lands and other lands of the North-West largely amongst Tory hacks, and patisans and members of Parliament,* a scheme which has developed to such an alarming extent and has led to such unhappy results. Mr.

White, Minister of the Interior, when he speaks of this matter is fond of saying that very few licenses were issued. But that simply shows the plot did not fully succeed. It does not show that there was no plot. (Cheers.) They were not able to sell their Orders-in-Council, and it was only the *bona fide* lumberers who would take out the licenses; but the orders were issued, the chances were given, the expectations were raised, and the party hacks were saved, or thought they were saved. All this is demonstrated, and this it is that you are asked to condemn. (Cheers.) And *you must remember that the public papers show all that I have spoken of*. If that is so, what may be covered by the secret interests in these and other transactions of which we know nothing? (Hear, hear.) The documents in the case of Messrs Macdonald and Tupper,

LUCKY YOUNG MEN,

fortunate sons of fortunate fathers, who have got all the *best solicitorships in Winnipeg*, the Canadian Pacific, the Hudson's Bay, the Merchants' Bank; *all corporations having dealings with the Government*, show that in these timber limits and other grants of the public domain, there were secret interests; in many of those promoted for their clients Messrs. Macdonald and Tupper had a *very large secret interest themselves*. In one Lieutenant-Governor *Dewdney had an interest*. He valued this affair alone at \$50,000, and their shares in these various grants were estimated at many thousands, for which they gave no consideration, except that they pressed forward the claims of those who wished to secure the grants. What happened with them very likely happened with the others. Then some actually did make great sums, for example, *Mr. Rykert, M.P., who realized an enormous sum for his services or share in one of these grants*. The price paid was \$200,000, of which I believe *Mr. Rykert realized \$90,000, invested in his wife's name*. Then there are the printing jobs and the appointments of sons and near relative of Ministers and members to fat offices; and other matters there are, all of which I would develop if there were time, but I must close. The whole thing is a scandal and an offence.

People, friends of mine, sometimes say to me, "This is a strange state of affairs, you address to these men in Parliament arguments which we think are reasonable and unanswerable. They make little or no attempt to answer them. But you don't get their votes. How is that?" My answer is: *How can you expect me to touch them by arguments? I can't reach their ears*. The blindness of party, the bigotry of faction, is a very difficult thing to penetrate, but if you add

A GOLDEN EAR-LAP,

if you deafen their ears with a golden plate, how is the voice of argument, reason, or truth to penetrate those layers. (Loud and prolonged applause.) It can't be done. Take my friend, Mr. Burns, the member of Gloucester, for instance. It is at the end of the session that the railway grants and other favours are brought down. Of what are he and those like him thinking in the meantime? *Where are their eyes fixed while we are engaged debating the public questions of the day?* They are *watching the Treasury benches, wondering whether their appropriation will come down.* And if the impression exists, as, alas! it does exist, that the

PRICE OF AN APPROPRIATION

is an unwavering support, and that an independent vote may adversely affect their chances, who will carry the day? (Cheers.) The side on which the appropriation is will always carry the day, you may be sure. Of course these men are watching for the sop at the end of the session, and they vote accordingly. (Applause and laughter.) I have said

THESE THINGS ARE A DISGRACE TO THE GOVERNMENT, A DISGRACE
TO THE MAJORITY IN PARLIAMENT.

Whether they shall be a disgrace to the Conservative party, as a whole, it now remains for that party to say. If the Conservative party choose not to become responsible for these things, if they prefer to disclaim them, if they refuse to be connected with these abuses, they may escape a staggering load now impending on their shoulders, and they may be the saviours of their country. (Cheers.) But *if the party, as a whole, declare these things to be honest, upright, and commendable, or even if they say, Though we would not touch this pitch ourselves, though we are ashamed of it, though we dislike it, still party union, party zeal, leads us to endorse, or not to condemn, the system, they will not, they cannot, escape disgrace and degradation for themselves.* (Cheers.) They are

BOUND TO PERFORM THEIR PUBLIC DUTY,

however painful; they are bound to tell their leaders, and the members whom they elect, to tell them plainly, that they will have neither part nor lot in this matter, that they will not suffer such things to be done in their name. So they will purify their party, and save their country. But if they choose otherwise, they become accomplices in the public disgrace. (Cheers.)

As I was about to leave Ottawa, at the end of the session just closed, a member on the other side of the House—an old personal friend of mine—spoke to me. He is an honest and upright man, and I am glad to say there are many such on that side whom I respect, though I do not share their views. He said, “Well, Blake, you must be glad that the session is closing; you must be glad to get away.” “Yes,” I said, “I shall be glad to get away. This is not a pleasant atmosphere for me to breathe, and I don’t think it is pleasant for you either.” “Well,” he said, “whatever may be said of what I have condoned in others, no man can say I have done anything myself that I ought to be ashamed of.” “No,” I said, “I believe you; I believe you would rather have died than have done yourself the things you have condoned in others.” And so I do. “The fact is,” he said, “it is all this party spirit.” But I don’t agree that party spirit justifies condonation of such acts. I say, Let that great party, which has within its ranks many honest men, declare they will rise above that so-called party spirit, which is the degradation and abuse of party—that they will not become accomplices in the ruin of their country. But whatever they may decide, let us, at any rate, here and now determine that we shall henceforth not palter with or wink at these abuses; but fight them from day to day, from hour to hour, expose them in the cases, comparatively rare though they be, in which we can drag them out from the concealments which are practised, and so do our very best to achieve the restoration of the independence of the Parliament of Canada. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

(2)

THE PUBLIC FINANCES.

Tory Promises, and how they have been kept.

ENORMOUS TAXATION AND ENORMOUS DEFICIT.

Has Taxation helped Farmers?

The Price of Wheat.

WHAT CAN BE DONE FOR FARMERS?

At Chesley, after referring to his old relations with the locality, congratulating his audience upon improvements in the County of Bruce within his memory, and paying an eloquent tribute to the old settlers, Mr. Blake proceeded:—"They were engaged as the pioneers in the settlement of the country, in increasing the wealth of the Province and of themselves, in converting the forest into the mixed settlement of town and country which we see with such pride to-day. There are now many railways in your county, due very largely, as I am proud to remember, to the large, liberal and practical railway policy which was brought into operation by myself during my brief tenure of office in the Legislature of Ontario. (Great cheering.) Sometimes I see it said, 'Oh, Blake is an old fossil; he doesn't believe in railway schemes at all'—because I have opposed some mad, inconsiderate plans in which the only object to be gained was a political object. But you will find, if you look at the statute book, where the law to which I refer is inscribed, that that law provided the means without which the great practical results which we see in Bruce, in a large part of Huron and Grey, and in many others which might be called the outlying portions of the country, never could have been attained as they have since that day been attained. (Loud and prolonged applause.) You were engaged in political struggles then as now. Then, as now, you had before you different parties asserting different views, but the difference between the parties was not exactly such as it is to-day.

TORY ALIASES.

"The Tory party in the Old World and in Canada has from time to time chosen to adopt *aliases*, it has chosen to adopt new names, it has designated itself by a variety of epithets which it thought from time to time would conceal its identity, and would

enable it to mislead under a new and more attractive guise. (Cheers and laughter.) It was not the Tory party at all I had to oppose when I first came to the County of Bruce. It was the COALITION PARTY—the ‘PARTY OF UNION AND PROGRESS.’ (Laughter.) They were quite insulted if you called them Tories. (Loud laughter.) Then there was a NO-PARTY PARTY. Then there was a PATENT COMBINATION PARTY. Then it became the NATIONAL POLICY PARTY. As Liberal principles grew strong they have from time to time called themselves ‘LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVES,’ in order that they might get weak-kneed Reformers to join them because of the name Liberal. (Cheers.) Some of them call themselves CONSERVATIVE-LIBERALS, and so on, so that it is pretty hard to find them out.

LIBERALISM ALWAYS THE SAME.

“We have stuck pretty well to the names we have given ourselves of Liberals and Reformers, and those names represent our principles of that day as they represent our principles now, both in the Old World and in that portion of God’s earth which we are called upon to govern and develop. (Loud applause.) Then, as now, the other party, under whatever name it for the time might please to call itself, acted on principles opposed to those which we believe to be right and in the best interest of the country. Then, as now, the struggle between the executive authority and the popular rule went on. There was then, as now, an attempt to grasp for the Executive larger powers than are necessary for the administration of the affairs of the country, and the rule I ventured to lay down to you as a young man, after reading what I could of the political history of other nations, after studying, as well as I could, the principles of popular government, is the rule which, I am thankful to say, I hold more firmly to-day than ever before, that *we ought to give to the Executive and remove from the people’s representatives just so much power, and no more than is necessary for the efficient management of the business of administration.* (Loud applause.) Keep to yourselves through your representatives in Parliament, whom you elect and whom you can reject, whose proceedings take place in the light of day, whose speeches and votes you have the opportunity of judging, all the power which it is not clear that the interests of the country absolutely require should be handed over to the Executive, which is really only a committee of your representatives. (Renewed applause.)”

Proceeding, Mr. Blake instanced the Franchise and other Acts as cases in point, and discussed the principles involved briefly. He reviewed briefly some salient points concerning the GERRY-

MANDER ACT, CONSTITUTION OF THE SENATE, INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT as affected by recent disclosures, PROVINCIAL RIGHTS, the INADEQUATE DISCUSSION of affairs in PARLIAMENT due to the DELAY in Government measures and in bringing down information, the CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY, the GOVERNMENT'S NORTH-WEST POLICY, the SENATE, and the NORTH-WEST REBELLION. He then proceeded:—"Each of these subjects would require, for anything like a discussion of them, nearly the whole of the time which I feel it would be right for me to occupy, and I have merely touched upon them in order that I might speak at greater length upon another very important subject—

The Finances of the Country.

"Our friend Mr. Gillies adverted to the question of the expenditure, and Mr. Pardee spoke of the accusations (unjust, as I agree) made against the Local Government simply because under their rule the expenditure has been increased. There is a very serious difference between the position of the Local Government and that of the Federal Government with reference to the increase of expenditure. *The Local Government has certain resources which are not derived by its taxing you. It does not tax you a dollar.* It gets its revenues—except some income from licenses, which I suppose you would not call an objectionable tax in that sense—from the subsidy given by the Federal Government, the amount of which it cannot control and which it does not collect, from investments and from the timber dues. So long as it can make both ends meet, so long is it better to judiciously expend the bulk of the money it receives rather than put it in a napkin and lay it up drawing three per cent. interest. You would not pay a dollar the less for any diminution in the expenditure. I do not mean to say Government should be extravagant or profligate in their dealings with the money placed in their charge, but they have a right to say that they are not burdening you by the expenditure. But the

FEDERAL EXPENDITURE COMES OUT OF THE TAXES.

Some part, of course, is repaid, as in the case of the Post-office expenditure, from which department some revenue is received; but, generally speaking, the bulk of the expenditure is made from the taxation. In 1868 the Federal expenditure was about thirteen and one-half millions. *In 1874, when the Mackenzie Government was first in power, it was about \$23,300,000, showing an increase of \$9,800,000. In 1878, the last year of the Mackenzie Government, the expenditure was about \$23,500,000.* It rose a little in

the interval; but at the close of their term they had brought it down so as to show *an increase of only* \$200,000, as compared with that of their initial year of office. IN 1883 THE EXPENDITURE HAD GROWN TO ABOUT \$29,000 000, IN 1884 IT WAS \$31,100,000, IN 1885 IT WAS \$35,000,000, OF WHICH \$1,700,000 WAS FOR WAR EXPENSES. They say you ought not to charge the war expenses against them. I suppose that is because you got so much good of it, because you got such a fine return for the investment. If you take that view, of course you may strike it off, but you'll have to pay it all the same. (Cheers and laughter.) We will suppose you will take that view of it and strike off the \$1,700,000. In that case the expenditure was \$33,300,000. In 1886 *the expenditure is estimated at* \$38,100,000, and allowing off, if you choose to allow, \$3,400,000 paid out as war expenses, the expenditure for the year would be 34,700,000, *showing an increase of* \$11,200,000. In the nineteen years since Confederation there has therefore been an increase of about \$21,200,000, of which

\$21,000,000 UNDER TORY RULE AND \$200,000 UNDER LIBERAL RULE.

I do not tell you that that increase is *all* unjustifiable. I do not act with these men as they acted with Mr. Mackenzie. *They declared that had they been in power they would have governed the country for twenty-two and a half millions a year, and that he was extravagant because he had spent more. They claimed that you ought to return them to power to reduce his expenditure. They tell you now that the increase under their rule was necessary because of the development of the country and the increase of the population. But the men who, in 1878 and for a few years preceding, told you that the insignificant increase under Mr. Mackenzie was of itself sufficient evidence of extravagance and unjustifiable expenditure, and who secured power on the pretence and pledge of reducing it, are not the men who should claim the benefit of such a plea as this, when they have increased the expenditure by eleven millions of dollars a year. I do tell you that while a large part of this increase is justifiable, a large part is quite unjustifiable. (Cheers.) You would not expect me to analyze the expenditure of eleven millions, but I will give you a sample or two. Take the*

EXPENDITURE ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

In 1878 every Conservative platform in the country echoed with cries against the extravagance of Mr. Mackenzie as to the Civil

Service and their salaries. The orators of that party declared that he had filled all the departments from garret to cellar with political hacks, whom he put in not because the country wanted officers, but because the hacks wanted offices. They said that when he had filled all the buildings from garret to cellar until he could find no more room, he put up another large building, at a cost of a quarter of a million dollars, and filled it also with political hacks. They, the stern economists, called upon you to return them to power, that they might have an opportunity of showing how you could be governed more economically. What was the result? *In 1878 the salaries paid to the Civil Service amounted to \$823,000.* That is a large sum. They said it was a great deal too much, and they promised a speedy reduction. In the very first year of their term of office they reduced the expenditure under this head to \$986,000. (Great laughter and cheering.) We were so much pleased with their economy that they felt encouraged, and the next year *they succeeded in reducing it in the same direction to \$1,084,000.* (Renewed laughter.) And last year by the exercise of their own peculiar system of economy they kept it down to \$1,139,000. (Applause.) So that you find that since taking office they have increased or reduced the expenditure under this head—for, I suppose, though the Liberals will call it an increase, the Conservatives will say it is a reduction—to the extent of \$316,000, or forty per cent. (Cheers.) Part of that increase is necessary and proper. But part of it is not. Take an example:—

THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT,

up to the time the Tories came into power, comprised all the public works, including railways and canals. It was managed by one Minister, Mr. Mackenzie himself, who had also the Premier-ship—(cheers)—and by one staff. *In 1878 the expenditure for salaries and contingencies was \$59,850.* But the Tories cut the Department in two, one the Department of Public Works, and the other the Department of Railways and Canals, each with a Minister and a separate staff. The expenditure for last year *was \$100,500, as against \$59,850 in 1878, an increase of over \$40,000 on \$60,000.* The ordinary

CONTROLLABLE EXPENDITURE

in 1878 was \$6,542,000. In 1883 it was about \$9,500,000; in 1884, \$11,000,000; in 1885, \$12,600,000, *or nearly double what it was in 1878.* A great portion of that increase was justifiable and proper; but part of it was needless and improper. Take the

SUPERANNUATION EXPENDITURE.

You know that besides paying our civil servants very fair salaries for the work they do, considering the security of their tenure of office, the shortness of their hours of work, and the regularity of their pay, we have a system of paying them pensions after they are no longer able to serve us. This system, whatever may be said for or against it in principle, is liable to abuse in practice. The Tories said in 1878 that Mr. Mackenzie had abused it, and to prove their statement they quoted the figures to show that under his Government the superannuation allowances had increased from \$64,000 a year to \$106,000 a year. This, they said, was of itself proof of extravagance and corruption. The expenditure is now up to \$203,600, very nearly double the amount which they said was itself proof of the most scandalous jobbery under a Liberal Administration. (Cheers.) Take the

EXPENDITURE UPON INDIANS.

In 1878 the amount was \$421,000. For the last three years it has been more than \$1,100,000 a year. I don't say the increase was unjust—an increase may have been quite necessary. The circumstances had changed since 1878; the Indians had lost the buffalo and it was necessary to do something, even much more than was done in 1878. But the accounts show, the public documents show, the speeches made in Parliament, and the statements therein quoted, as yet unrefuted (and I do not see how they can be refuted as a whole), show that there has been scandalous abuse in the management. (Hear, hear.) ENORMOUS SUMS, quite adequate, with their own exertions, to keep the number of Indians for whose benefit the money is voted in reasonable comfort, HAVE BEEN GIVEN WITH LIBERALITY BY PARLIAMENT, YET THE INDIANS HAVE BEEN IN MANY CASES STARVED, AND IN SOME CASES STARVED TO DEATH, IN THE MEANTIME. I say that a more humiliating and deplorable exhibition than that given by the reports of public officials respecting the treatment of some of the Indian tribes before the rebellion, it would be impossible to conceive of. It is not that the money has not been given to the Government for this service. There is one set of accounts showing an expenditure of \$46,000 for agricultural implements, enormous sums for garden seeds, and so on. And yet the papers show improper or inadequate food to have been supplied to the Indians, under which they and their little ones have in many cases died. Other instances of immorality and misconduct are also, I fear, established. Let me turn to another subject.

THE SURPLUS QUESTION.

These gentlemen, when Mr. Mackenzie was in power, were convulsed with indignation on one occasion because Sir Richard Cartwright, the Finance Minister, in bringing down his budget, stated that he estimated that the balance of receipts over expenditures would be about half a million dollars. He said that half a million was a pretty narrow margin to leave in case the estimate should not be correct. Dr. Tupper—I heard him myself—declared that the Government had no right to have, or to propose to have, even this small surplus. Your business, he said, is not to take from the people half a million more than you expect to spend, but to reduce the burdens of the people by throwing off taxation. Shortly after that they were in power and they got into the era of surpluses. They were indignant because Sir Richard Cartwright estimated for a surplus of half a million, which, as a matter of fact, he never got, because the contingencies occurred which he had feared, and the revenue did not come in. They had surpluses in 1881 of \$4,130,000, in 1882 of \$6,310,000, in 1883 of \$7,050,000, and in 1884 of \$750,000. When they found fault with Sir Richard Cartwright, we told them in reply that Dr. Tupper was quite right in his principle, that it was not proper to propose to take out of the pockets of the people more than, with reasonable caution, the Government might expect to need, but we believed the margin was reasonable, and when these surpluses of theirs came we called upon them to act upon the principle which both parties had declared to be the right one, and reduce taxation. (Hear, hear.) But, no; they refused. Sir John Macdonald, you remember, said that his opinion about surpluses was the same as that of the old squaw about whiskey—a little too much was just enough. (Loud laughter.)

THEY SWALLOWED THEIR PROFESSIONS,

and took out of you in one year fourteen times as much as they said Sir Richard Cartwright was almost criminal in even proposing to take out of you. (Loud cheers.) We said more. If you will apply the principles of human nature, the principles which actuate yourselves in your own affairs, to the affairs of the Government, you will find many things, which are stated to you as *great secrets of statecraft, are not so very difficult to understand after all.* (Loud applause and laughter.) Now, it is human nature that men, as a rule, are more liberal with other people's money than they are with their own. ("Hear, hear," and renewed laughter.) When the question of subscribing to a church, or a

charity, is being discussed, we are often rather disposed to criticise others for being niggardly and to subscribe a large sum for our neighbour. Public men, when they are considering how much money they shall expend, are not likely to forget that it is public money and not their own. There is no percentage taken off their salaries, no tax imposed upon them, and they are naturally liberal. (Laughter.) The spending of it makes friends. There was a steward a long while ago, you remember, who sought to make friends in this way at his master's expense. As long as the people, as a whole, will allow them to go on, it is a very good thing for them to make local appropriations, and to create new offices; and so your best security for the appropriations being economical is to AFFIRM THE PRINCIPLE THAT NO MORE MONEY THAN IS NECESSARY SHALL BE TAKEN OUT OF YOUR POCKETS, because you may be sure that if they take many millions more than they require, they will spend those millions. I have shown you how the expenditure has increased. I have shown you that the taxes are high, not so high as they were at one time, but after all only a tax or two has been taken off, and the taxes are very high indeed. But the era of deficits has come again, and

WE NOW HAVE ENORMOUS DEFICITS,

not because we have reduced taxation, but because we have increased expenditure, through the people of the country having allowed the Tories to tax us more than they could show was necessary. In 1878 the total taxes were \$17,700,000; in 1883 (the boom year) \$29,300,000; in 1885, \$25,400,000; the estimate for 1886 is \$26,000,000, and for 1887 \$27,200,000. *So that the taxes you will be called upon to pay next year will be over a dollar and a half for every dollar near the end of Mr. Mackenzie's term of office.* (Cheers.) They will tell you that it is because we are importing more than we did before. Partly so; but not mainly. In 1877 the rate of duty per hundred dollars of all goods you imported, fine or coarse, free or dutiable, high priced or low priced, was \$13.03. In 1885 the rate was \$18.61. That is an increase of \$5.58 on \$13.03, or about 43 per cent., so that *for the same amount of goods you pay 43 per cent. more taxes.* The amount of estimated taxation, as I make it out, for the year 1887, is about \$30 for every head of a family. That is your burden as it appears, but

YOU DO NOT KNOW EXACTLY WHAT YOUR BURDEN IS,

for you have not the tax gatherer coming to your door with a bill of so much for the Canadian Pacific Railway, so much for

this, that, and the other item. *It is the retail merchant who collects your taxes for the Dominion Government, and he does not thus make out his bills.* I wish he did, because then you would see how much you are paying, and you would be more inquisitive as to the way the money was going. The wholesale importer brings in the goods. They come to Montreal or Toronto and he must get them out of the Customs. He takes them out and pays the duty. He must then find out at what prices to sell them, and to do that he must compute the cost of them. Part of the cost was the duty, he puts an advance upon the whole cost to cover interest, risk, expenses of all kinds, services, and his own profit. He adds, we will say, fifteen per cent. upon the whole, part being, as you see, the duty he has paid. He sells them to the retail merchant, and the retail merchant goes through the same operation. He says: I have to distribute these goods; I have a bale of cloth, a barrel of sugar, and a box of tea, and I have to sell these in a hundred parcels to my customers. What am I to charge? The cost is so much, including the duty, and the importer's advance upon it. He puts an advance of twenty-five per cent. or so upon the whole, *so that by the time you and I pay the tax included in our bill there is between forty and fifty per cent. added to the amount of the duty as part of the cost to us of the goods.* We pay it all, though the treasury doesn't get it all. I have pointed out how the money has gone, to some extent. There is also

THE ITEM OF IMMIGRATION.

In 1878 there was spent on this service the sum of \$180,000, in 1883 \$437,000, in 1884 \$575,000, and in 1885 \$506,000; and this notwithstanding that we were promised, when the Canadian Pacific charter was given, that the railway would do the great work of immigration as the American railway companies did, and save our treasury the expense. This expenditure has been wasteful, corrupt, little useful, and often hurtful. I hope I have made it clear that the burden of taxation deserves your best attention.

ANOTHER PHASE OF TAXATION.

I have pointed out one phase of this question of taxation, and have shown how it affects manufacturers and merchants in their dealings with their customers, and the burden it imposes on consumers. I desire to say further, that the Government have imposed the burden of taxation upon a principle which has proved fallacious. They declared that the farmers needed legislative assistance, and that *they were going to legislate the farmers into comparative wealth and easy circumstances.* They were going

to make the times better by increasing the price of their products and giving them a home market. They were to do this mainly by establishing factories, the hands in which would pay high prices for eggs, chickens, and garden stuff. (Laughter.) Everywhere THE PRICE OF GRAIN WAS TO BE MADE BETTER. We said that in all those articles of which you have a surplus the foreign market will rule the prices. Suppose you are hurt by the American duty on barley, how are you going to help yourself? Put on a similar duty? How will that help you? There was no answer. We said: There is no American barley coming in; what then will be the practical effect of putting on a duty to prevent it from coming in? And yet there were a great many men, intelligent in the ordinary affairs of life, who were gulled by this trick. There are people going about the country—there are some you have heard to-day in this village—with musical voices and pleasant tales, selling you articles warranted to cure every disease from which you suffer—enchanted oils and other magic cures. They do not tell you what the composition of the medicine is or how it is going to act. But they depend upon your saying: Well, we may as well try it; it may do us good; and it can't very well do us harm. A GREAT MANY THEORISTS WHO CLAIMED TO HAVE THE MEDICINE TO CURE THE ILLS OF THE BODY-POLITIC WENT ABOUT WITH THEIR SEDUCTIVE TALES AND WIZARD OILS BEFORE 1878. All of us would much rather be legislated into wealth and ease than win them by our own labour. You were deceived into agreeing to try them. You gave these men a trial. How did that trial succeed? *What about wheat?* (Cheers and laughter.) What about potatoes, the price of which a former speaker quoted? I held a meeting in the rear of my own riding of West Durham the other day. I asked the people the price of wheat. One man said: I bought wheat to-day at 55c. a bushel. I said: That seems to be very low. I hope you got a good bargain. He didn't seem to think he had got a very good bargain. (Laughter and applause) It was goose wheat perhaps; there surely must have been something wrong when the buyer wasn't satisfied with that price. (Loud laughter.) Compare this with the condition of things when the tariff policy had the benefit of a short period of general prosperity. At that time Mr. Stephenson, who was then a member of Parliament, though he has since been promoted by the Premier to be Inspector of Colonization Companies at a salary of \$5,000 a year and travelling expenses, said at a meeting in south-western Ontario: "I'm going to support the Government that has raised the price of wheat from 79 cents to \$1.40 a bushel." And so they boasted of their policy. But now, when the price is low, they say it is the foreign market that controls the price. *And when we ask them why they don't keep up the*

prices, as they promised, they say: "What is the use of talking that way? What sensible man would suppose we could raise the price of wheat? The price here is controlled by the price abroad." (Great applause and laughter.) Did they believe they could raise prices when they made the promise in 1878? If they did, they were fools; if they did not, they were knaves. Either way they are unworthy of your confidence. (Tremendous cheering.)

THEY PROMISED YOU A HOME MARKET

for the product of your farms. In 1873 you had to find a market abroad for five millions of dozens of eggs. In 1885 you had to find a foreign market not only for that five millions, but for about six and one-half millions besides, or in all 11,540,000 dozens. I must admit I have heard a member of Parliament for a not very remote county, Mr. Farrow, of Huron, declare in the House of Commons that it was a fact that the N. P. had done great good in the egg business. For, he said, even the hens had been stimulated and laid more and larger eggs than they formerly did, and we got the benefit in that way. (Loud laughter.) In 1883, the value of the export of eggs alone was two and a quarter millions of dollars, and in 1885 it was \$1,830,000. Yet the export of manufactured articles in 1883 was only \$3,181,000. So that *in the export trade eggs alone were worth more than one-half as much as all the manufactures*. These men said they were going to make you happy and rich in the way I have indicated. We declared that the wealth of this country, as of all countries similarly circumstanced, rested upon a foundation of plain and obvious principles.

THE TRUE FOUNDATION OF ALL WEALTH.

It rested upon the energy, the activity, the economy, and the prudence with which each of us in his own walk of life tried to make the best of his situation and opportunities. (Cheers.) To these and not to Acts passed by Parliament at Ottawa is the prosperity of the country mainly due. Having a fertile soil, if Providence favours us with good crops and we get fair prices, we will do well just in proportion as we each of us exhibit the qualities to which I have referred. *The manufacturing interest is an important interest. I wish it well. I believe our policy is best for it.* I have no desire to injure it. But it is absurd to talk as these men do, about the farmer being dependent upon the manufacturing interest. But it is well that you should see what the real foundations of prosperity are.

COMPARATIVE VALUES OF FARMS AND MANUFACTURES.

A few figures will tell you. In 1884 the CAPITAL INVESTED IN FARMING IN ONTARIO, including the value of your farms (depreciated as they have been of late years in many places, not, of course, on account of, but in spite of the N. P.), and including buildings, stock, agricultural implements, etc., and capital in hand or in bank, WAS ABOUT \$1,100,000,000. The interest upon that for one year at 5 per cent, is \$55,000,000. THE INVESTMENT IN MANUFACTURING INTERESTS IN THE YEAR 1881 WAS \$81,000,000. That included a large number of domestic industries, such as the baker, the blacksmith, the local builder, and a large number of our industries that could not be benefited by the N.P., as the flour miller, whose industry is almost dead since the N.P., and the saw-miller, who has not been benefited, but injured. Strike off for these \$30,000,000. I believe we ought to strike off even more, but I can afford a few millions in this calculation. (Laughter). We have then \$50,000,000 left. It is a disputed point as to what the effects, temporary or permanent, of protection are upon these industries. I do not touch that to-day. I may do so elsewhere. Assume, for the sake of argument, that the effect is somewhat beneficial. Yet *it is reasonable to tell a community composed of farmers, distributors, labourers, and manufacturers; that the prosperity of the farmer depends upon the manufacturer?* (Cheers.) You might as well take a pyramid with a broad base and tapering to a point at the other end, and after considering how it can best be made to stand firmly and solidly on the earth, turn it with the point down, and expect to accomplish your object. (Great cheering.) The eleven hundred millions is that upon which depends the prosperity of the fifty millions. IF YOU ARE FAVOURED, IF YOU THRIVE, IF YOU ARE EXERTING YOURSELVES, YOU WILL HAVE MONEY IN YOUR POCKETS, AND THEN THE MANUFACTURERS WILL DO WELL ALSO. The money does not stay with you. After paying debts and paying for some improvements, the greater part of which is a direct benefit to the manufacturer, the remainder goes out to manufacturers and others, and is distributed. Unless you prosper the manufacturer cannot prosper, tariff or no tariff, and when you prosper the manufacturer of any article which can be reasonably made here will thrive under any readjustment of the tariff that has been talked or thought of. (Cheers.) Well, we are asked: What can you do for the farmer? We are not like these people who said, with high-sounding words, that they could send 211 men to Parliament to draw up Bills and

pass them, to prepare resolutions and carry them, and so make the farmer happy. By listening to these men you simply appointed for yourselves rulers who injure you, and who availed themselves of a temporary spurt of prosperity to renew their lease of power. You have tried the sellers of these magic articles. What has been the result? It seems to me it has been a dismal failure. I say,

WHAT CAN BE DONE FOR THE FARMER AS IT IS?

Take care, first of all, that his burden is kept as light as possible. (Cheers.) *Take care that his burden is not only as light as possible, but that its distribution upon the whole community is made as just as possible,* not as now when not merely is there no attempt even to approximate that rude justice which is the best that we can, with our imperfect system, attain, but when *by means of specific duties the charges upon goods, coarse and cheap, which the poorest have to buy, are heavier far, proportionably, than those upon the fine and dear goods which the rich can afford to buy.* (Cheers.) In the second place see to an

ECONOMICAL EXPENDITURE OF THE REVENUE

from this reduced and fairly distributed taxation. In the third place make an honest effort to increase the means of CHEAP TRANSPORT of the commodities which you have to sell and of the commodities which you want to buy, and to open the avenues of foreign trade. In the fourth place secure FAIR AND HONEST ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE and of the affairs of the country. This is what the Legislature can do. (Loud cheers.) To tell you that we can by passing Acts of Parliament make you rich, is what I cannot honestly do. I do not believe it can be done. I did not believe it in 1878 or in 1882. Our task, limited as I have stated it, is yet a very difficult one. The extravagant system adopted, the high permanent charges which have been incurred, the interests which have been created, make it difficult to do what might have been done in 1878 had we continued in power, and even in 1882 had we been successful in winning a verdict from the people. But because it is difficult it becomes all the more necessary that it should be attempted and that an end should thus be put to the present course of extravagance, incompetence, and maladministration. *You have a country comparatively embarrassed, a country whose future has been impaired by the maladministration and incompetency of the men in whom you trusted. You have a country whose moral standing is not what it ought to have been, by reason of the scandals to which I*

have referred, which have disgraced the Legislature and, by reflex action, have disgraced the people.

BUT YOU HAVE A COUNTRY WITH GREAT CAPABILITIES, WITH CONSIDERABLE RECUPERATIVE FORCES, WHOSE CONDITION MAY BE IMPROVED, WHOSE STANDING MAY BE RESTORED, IF ITS PEOPLE WILL BUT RECOGNIZE AND PERFORM THEIR PLAIN AND OBVIOUS DUTY. GENTLEMEN, WITH YOU I LEAVE IT. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

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FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL RIGHTS.

Attitude of Sir John's Administration.

THE LICENSE LAW.

QUESTION OF ESCHEATS.

Ontario Boundaries.

STREAMS BILL.

THE FOURTEEN ARBITRARY ANGELS.

Re-arrangement of Financial Basis of Confederation.

THE NOVA SCOTIA QUESTION.

At Simcoe, after alluding to the shameful gerrymandering of the Norfolk ridings, Mr. Blake proceeded:—I turn now to the subject which it was my especial desire to touch to-day.

THE GENERAL ATTITUDE OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF THE DOMINION TOWARDS PROVINCIAL RIGHTS, AND. THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR ADMINISTRATION OF THE CONFEDERATION AS A WHOLE.

I say that the attitude of the Tory party ever since Confederation towards the Provinces and towards the Confederation, has been inimical to the federal principle upon which our Constitution is based, and upon which only it can be properly worked. (Applause). *Sir John Macdonald was before Confederation an avowed legislative unionist; he was opposed to the federal system, and was determined that the union should be legislative if he could manage it. He was a legislative unionist on principle, but finding his principle unpopular, he became nominally, for interest and for office, a federalist; and he has since that time systematically carried out his principles as a legislative unionist just so far as interest and office would permit. He has striven, as far as he thought safe, to impart to our Consti-*

tution the features of legislative union and to minimize its federal elements. This has tended, of course, to impair and disparage the federal character of the union. The Liberal party, as I understand its policy, is in favour of the federal principle. (Cheers.) It believes in a system of

LOCAL LIBERTIES AND LOCAL POPULAR RIGHTS

of a large and extensive character for all the Provinces of the Dominion. We believe that in a country so wide in its area as Canada, so sparsely settled as Canada, divided as Canada has been into Provinces, inhabited as these Provinces are, notably in the case of Quebec, by populations mainly of one race, and of one system of laws, different from and isolating them from the other Provinces, and dividing those Provinces from each other, inhabited by populations holding different views upon many subjects, and unaccustomed to have their local affairs treated otherwise than locally; we believe, I say, that *the true and the only method of establishing a union of heart and feeling between the different parts of our great country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is frankly to recognize these circumstances,* and to meet them by the establishment, upon a firm and substantial basis; of a large measure of provincial and local liberties; to give us, in fact, Home Rule for each Province of the Dominion. We believe that here was found the main difficulty under which we laboured in the old union between the Canadas, where the two Provinces had joint control of local affairs, concerning which Ontario did not well understand the wants and wishes, the habits and customs, the passions and prejudices, of the sister Province, and so with Quebec as to Ontario. It was largely in order to remove such difficulties that the Confederation was proposed, and we desire to avoid them still by continuing and, if need be, confirming the federative spirit of our constitution. (Cheers.) But there are other obvious reasons for this view.

EFFECTS OF THE CENTRALIZATION POLICY.

Centralization at Ottawa, the management by one authority of local affairs in a country spreading for four thousand miles, from ocean to ocean, would inevitably be the fruitful parent, not merely of discord, but also of federal jobbery, delay, favouritism, blunders, and mal-administration. If you want an example of the dangers, the difficulties, and the failures of an attempt to administer from a great distance the local affairs of a vast territory, read THE LAMENTABLE STORY OF THE MANAGEMENT OF NORTH-WEST AFFAIRS BY THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION. It is in order to obviate these

difficulties, to promote the real and cordial union of the country in matters common to us as a whole, to secure good government for the Provinces, and good government for the Dominion too, that we Liberals insist so strenuously upon local management of local affairs. Local management will be quick and responsive to local public opinion. It is not troubled by a consideration of the views, objections, prejudices, and ignorance of those not concerned in such affairs and belonging to other Provinces. Besides,

LOCAL INSTITUTIONS HAVE EVER BEEN, UNDER THE BRITISH SYSTEM,
THE GREAT NURSERIES OF FREEDOM.

They are the trainers of the people at large, and especially of those who are to be the people's leaders in the larger arena; and so highly are these local liberties valued, that they are held by the wisest men to be *the real root of the British constitutional system*. We, therefore, hold that their true dignity and importance ought to be conceded to the local authorities, and that the wide sphere of Provincial action under the constitution should be fully, frankly, and ungrudgingly recognized by all concerned. We desire that those important matters of common concern, by the wise regulation of which we may foster and increase our community of thought, feeling, interest, and affection throughout Canada, and so become one people, should be dealt with, and that these alone should be dealt with, at Ottawa. In these we are partners; the regulation of these so as to produce harmony and good feeling is itself difficult. To that task we should address ourselves; and to turn to other and local matters, to attempt to enlarge our sphere, to increase the number of, I do not say the links of love, but the coercive bonds of connection, is not really to promote our union. It is to PRODUCE DISCORD AND DIFFICULTY, AND TO SOW THE SEEDS OF SEPARATION. But, sir, the very opposite of these notions has prevailed at Ottawa for years past. Centralization has been the dream of the powers there. Every effort has been made to curtail the just Provincial rights, and there has consequently existed a constant struggle on the part of the Provinces, and notably of Ontario, not to obtain more than their constitutional rights, but to hold their own under the constitution. (Cheers.) Take for example

THE LICENSE LAWS.

Every Province had always passed license laws, and for many years those laws had remained unchallenged. For years it was generally believed that the Provinces alone had power to pass such laws. At length it seemed to Sir John Macdonald that a

favourable opportunity had occurred to attack that right. *He declared the license laws of the Provinces were waste paper*; that the power to pass such laws was not with the Provinces, but rested with the Dominion alone. *Making a bid for the support of the licensed victuallers and the municipalities*, he promised them that if returned to power he would pass satisfactory laws at Ottawa. Accordingly, when returned, he made proposals to which the Liberals objected on the ground that there was no right or necessity to interfere, and they proposed first that there should be at least delay until the Privy Council should decide whether Sir John's construction of the law was right or wrong; and secondly, that even if his reading of the B.N.A. Act were assumed, contrary to the common understanding, to be correct, the proper step would be to seek such an amendment of the letter of the Act as would make it accord with that common understanding, and secure the right to the Provinces instead of wresting it from them. (Cheers.) But we were refused delay, we were refused redress. *We were told that every man was at that moment free to sell liquor as he pleased, that there was no law to regulate the traffic*, and that the sacred cause of temperance required immediate action at Ottawa by those WELL-KNOWN AND PRACTISED ADVOCATES OF TEMPERANCE AND TOTAL ABSTINENCE, THE GOVERNMENT AND THEIR SUPPORTERS. (Laughter.) Sir John Macdonald tried to entrap us into a committee to frame a law. As we objected to his action altogether, we declined to serve. We were told that we were refusing to discharge a great public duty. But we believed we were in truth discharging our highest duty. His committee, composed wholly of Tories, sat for a long time, and at last brought in a Bill.

SIR JOHN'S LIQUOR BILL.

A great many boasts were made about this Bill; it was said to be the best liquor law that had ever been devised; it was a magnificent law; it was such a law that the Grits would like to have had the credit of being parties to it. But they were to have none of the credit, for they had refused to have anything to do with it; the whole credit was to belong to the Tories! (Laughter.) We said we were quite willing they should have all the credit. Presently

THE PRIVY COUNCIL DECIDED THAT THE PROVINCIAL LICENSE LAWS WERE VALID,

and therefore the only ground given for pressing forward *the Dominion measure*—that of necessity—had never existed; and

the law *had been passed under false pretences or mistake*. We then said: Abandon your law, do not continue this struggle with the Provinces. You said there were not and could not be any license laws in force. We find that there can be and are such laws. Abandon your law. *No, Sir John said; though the Privy Council has decided that the Provincial laws are good, this law is good also*. NOT AS A MATTER OF NECESSITY, BUT NOW, AS A MATTER OF POLICY, I WILL MAINTAIN IT. (Laughter.) He went to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court decided that the law was bad. We said, now at any rate abandon your law. He refused. We said, if you will not abandon—at any rate suspend, until the decision of the Privy Council, the operation of this vexatious law. He at first refused; but *we moved in the House and forced him*, by bringing the weight of public opinion to bear, *reluctantly to agree to the suspension of the law*. The Privy Council heard the case, and decided that it was quite true that a license law was waste paper; but this was not the Provincial law, which Sir John Macdonald had declared to be waste paper; it was the one he himself had put upon the statute book. (Loud and prolonged applause.) And so

THE GREAT LAW,

of which the Tories were to have all the credit, was torn to pieces, it was thrown into the waste-paper basket, and there was an end of it. No—not quite, because you had to pay the bill, and besides the hundreds and thousands paid before, you paid \$150,000 last session, and I don't know whether that will close the account or not. Besides the public money paid there is to be considered the turmoil and confusion, the collision of authority, the difficulties, the inefficiency in the operation of the existing laws, the expense to the Provinces, and to individuals, all created by these gentlemen in their insane determination, as far as they could, and further than the constitution warranted, to extend what they call Dominion rights and to diminish your Provincial rights, and so to accomplish their dream of centralisation at Ottawa. In that case almost every Province was actively fighting the Dominion. *A pretty state of things, the Dominion harrassing the Provinces, and the Provinces retaining lawyers*, who are said to be expensive people to employ—(hear, hear)—*to defend their rights against these unwarrantable attacks!* yet such became the relations of the Dominion and the Provinces owing to the action of the Dominion Government. The result is rather humiliating for the man who BOASTED OF HIS INFALLIBILITY AS A CONSTITUTIONAL LAWYER, and who, in 1882, invited the electors to trust his assurance that the Provincial license laws were waste paper,

and that at Ottawa alone could valid laws be passed. He called Mr. Mowat, because that gentleman maintained and enforced the constitutional law, a tyrant. Himself he called a constitutional lawyer. WHO IS THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAWYER NOW? AND WHO IS THE TYRANT NOW? (Cheers and laughter.) A tyrant I understand to be one who rules arbitrarily and against the law. That is what Sir John Macdonald attempted when he tried to force this law upon us. A constitutional lawyer I understand to be one who properly interprets the constitution and acts in support of it. That is just what Mr. Mowat did. (Cheers.) The epithets fit the men, but they must be differently applied. Sir John is the tyrant, Mr. Mowat the constitutional lawyer. Then there was

THE QUESTION OF ESCHEATS.

When a person dies without heirs, his property goes to the Crown. The question arose over such a case whether the property should go to the Crown as represented by the Province, or the Crown as represented by the Dominion. Sir John Macdonald had early adopted the Dominion view. Mr. Fournier followed in his footsteps, and a litigation took place. The full Court in the Province of Quebec decided in favour of the Province. I, as Minister of Justice, gave my opinion in the same sense, and the Government under my advice solemnly passed an Order-in-Council recognizing that rule and agreeing to act on it. Sir John Macdonald, however, on returning to power, declined to abide by this view, and supported at the expense of the Dominion, a litigation which ended by the decision of the Privy Council that Sir John Macdonald was wrong and that Mr. Mowat was right in claiming escheats for the Province. Then came the

QUESTION OF THE BOUNDARY.

You know that both before and after Confederation the claim was made by Canada that the boundary of old Canada extended far beyond Port Arthur, and even beyond the Lake of the Woods. But after the Dominion had secured to itself the rights of the Imperial Government and the Hudson's Bay Company in the North-West Territory, they raised the claim that the boundary of Ontario extended only to a point east of Port Arthur, though they had theretofore called on Ontario to pay Provincial expenditures in those quarters, and though Algoma, as part of Ontario, actually included, as they said, the same regions for Dominion electoral purposes. I was then Premier of Ontario, and I declined to accept their boundary. They asked us to say what, in our opinion, the boundary was. We sent a memorandum, stating that we thought we had lar-

ger pretensions, yet we believed the real and fair boundary ran—substantially on the same line as has since been decided—close to the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, and we expressed our willingness to agree to that, and settle the question on that basis. But they said :—Your claim is extreme, so extreme that we cannot even discuss it with you ; there is no use in attempting to settle the question by discussion or arrangement—we must have litigation. We proposed arbitration, and they refused ; we then arranged an interim conventional line for certain objects. When Mr. Mackenzie came into power, however, having regard to the claims made by his predecessors, and to our old proposal to arbitrate, and to the convention, an arrangement was made to arbitrate, and the arbitrators found the boundary substantially as I had proposed. Sir John Macdonald said :—The arbitrators are all wrong, that boundary is one that no court on earth will support. We must fight Ontario, he said, and Ontario will be bound to yield. *He did fight Ontario*, but the Province did not yield. (Cheers.) Ontario stood by the derided boundary, and it was found, not that no court in the world would support that boundary, but that *the opinion of the very highest tribunal sustained our position*. Had they been right in their facts and their law they would have agreed to my proposal of 1872 ; but they were wrong—all wrong ; and thus you see an attempt to trench upon the rights of the Province obstinately carried on for a series of years though failing, as all their efforts have failed in the end. But Sir John said :—This is a barren victory you have won, because though Ontario may have the jurisdiction,

THE DOMINION HAS THE LANDS, AND NOT A STICK OF TIMBER, NOT A LUMP OF LEAD, IRON, SILVER, OR GOLD, SHALL BELONG TO ONTARIO

Why ? Because, he said, they had the so-called Indian title, and that gave them the lands, and, the lands being theirs, they proceeded to parcel the timber out, at nominal bonuses, amongst their favourites, and political partisans ; not as a rule, among lumbermen, but amongst men who expected to make fortunes by selling to those engaged in the trade. But this question is in litigation, too. *The Chancellor decided against Sir John, and the Court of Appeal has unanimously decided the same way ;* and now they propose to take the case to the Supreme Court and the Privy Council, and last session they brought down a vote for \$11,500, on account of the lawyers' fees. THIS GIVES THE PEOPLE OF ONTARIO THE SATISFACTION OF PAYING THEIR SHARE OF THE EXPENSES OF AN ATTEMPT TO ROB THEM OF THEIR INHERITANCE. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Mc-

Carthy, member for North Simcoe, arranged with the Dominion Government to pay the costs; he took the case; they have paid him so far; and *he is to have \$5000 from the Government to go over to England and argue the case for their contention, and against that of Ontario.* But I am glad to be able to tell you that these lawyers who made up the estimate of probable cost were so little confident of success that they estimated \$20,000 as the costs. *They said it was well to estimate for the costs of both sides on the assumption that it was probable they would lose the case, and so be called on to pay all the costs.* (Cheers and laughter.) But the Dominion Government decided not to ask the balance last session—that is reserved for next session. (Laughter.) Now we come to the case of

THE STREAMS BILL,

and this I have always considered to be, of all the controversies between the Dominion and the Provinces, by far the most important from a constitutional point of view; for it involves the principle regulating the use by the Government of the power of disallowing Provincial legislation. This is a vital question as affecting our local liberties. (Cheers.) I maintain that *under our constitution, properly interpreted, the Provinces have the uncontrollable power of passing laws, valid and binding laws, upon all those matters which are exclusively within their competence*, except possibly in the rare cases in which such legislation may be shown substantially to affect Dominion interests. If you are to admit the view that the Dominion Cabinet may veto and destroy your legislation on purely local questions within your exclusive competence, you MAKE YOUR LOCAL LEGISLATURE A SHAM, you declare your Provincial liberties a fraud, and you had better openly, honestly, and aboveboard, do that which the other system aims at in a secret and still more unsatisfactory way—create one central legislative power, and let the Parliament at Ottawa do all the business. (Cheers.) The case to which I have referred arose out of an Act of the Local Legislature of Ontario, known as the Streams Bill. That measure affected only local streams, and did not pretend to touch the streams in other Provinces, nor did it affect any Dominion interest at all. It was purely local and exclusively within the competence of the Local Legislature. The Legislature thought it well to interpret and declare the true and intended meaning of an older statute on this subject, and in doing so to give to the proprietor of improvements on a stream, of which he owned the bed, compensation for the use of those improvements, when others, under the law, availed themselves of the improved channel to run timber down the stream. Sir John Macdonald declared that the Local Legislature misinter-

preted the older law ; that the timber owner had no right to use the improved channel at all ; that the Act was not legislation, it was robbery of the proprietor of the channel ; and, moreover, he declared it was worse than ordinary robbery, for it was a robbery of the Tories by the Reformers. (Laughter.) He said that the Act was passed simply because Mr. Caldwell, a Reformer, wanted to run his timber unlawfully over the improvements of Mr. McLaren, a prominent Tory, and he said Mr. Mowat had prostituted the Legislature for the purpose of enabling the Reformers to rob the Conservatives, and moved by a high sense of justice—(laughter)—feeling that the interests of the whole country were concerned, he disallowed this act of robbery. WELL, THE LOCAL LEGISLATURE DID NOT THINK IT WAS ROBBERY AT ALL, AND THEY PASSED THE BILL AGAIN. *The Federal Government disallowed it again*, but the Legislature—a new House, I believe—was not convinced of the error of its ways, and passed a similar bill once more, and yet once more. In the meantime the slow process of the law was going on, and the final tribunal, the Privy Council, decided in the end, shortly after the bill had been passed for the last time, to the effect that the interpretation of the Local Legislature was right, and, therefore, that their bill (whatever might have been said otherwise, which I need not consider) was not robbery at all, but, on the contrary, was a protection to Mr. McLaren, the Tory, enabling him to get compensation for the use of his improvements, which he might not have been able to get under the old law, and

THE RESULT IS THAT THIS LAST ACT HAS NOT BEEN DISALLOWED.

(Cheers and laughter.) For the time, therefore, the difficulty is at rest. But the principle upon which the Federal Government acted is general in its nature, and may be acted upon by the Government at any time unless we restrain them. *I call upon you to say whether you will permit, whether you will send representatives to Ottawa to sustain, a course of action which must result in rendering nugatory your Provincial legislation.* In condemning the action of the Government, Parliament that I care not whether the Act is just or unjust, whether it is right or wrong, whether it is good or bad, whether it is robbery or not. I inquire as to this only, is it a law passed by the Local Legislature, within the exclusive competence of that Legislature, and not substantially affecting Dominion interests ? If so, you have no right to touch it. (Cheers.) I admit and I rejoice that there is an appeal from the power that made that law. But I will state to you where the appeal lies. THAT APPEAL IS FROM THE LEGISLATURE WHICH PASSED THE LAW TO THE PEOPLE WHO ELECTED THAT LEGISLATURE, and who can elect another to their minds. (Loud cheers.) The

appeal with reference to your own Provincial laws is to yourselves. If a law is passed by your Legislature which is unjust, which is bad, which is inexpedient, which is a robbery, you have the power to consider the conduct of the members who passed that law, and to return men to Parliament to repeal that law, to amend it, or to mould it according to your notions of what is just, good, expedient, honest and in the public interest. *Are you not satisfied to live under the rule of your own people?* Are you not equal to self-government? Are you not content to rely upon the sense of fairness and right, of honesty and expediency of your fellow-citizens of Ontario in reference to their and your own affairs? *Do you feel so doubtful as to your own knowledge of what is just, expedient, honest and right, that you must allow governors to set themselves up over you to determine for you whether your laws are good or bad?* Would you say: Here is a superior body whom we respect, whose views we prefer to the judgment of our own people? Here they are, fourteen men at Ottawa, of whom only four or five belong to your Province, the rest coming from the other Provinces, not knowing your ways or customs or affairs, not mainly, hardly at all effectively, responsible to you, whose duties ought to be confined to the common concerns of Canada, and who have nothing to do with your local affairs. Here they are, *fourteen men who, when they deliberate upon affairs of State, retire into a room, lock the door, post a sentry without, to prevent the too near approach of the common herd, who swear an oath that they will not reveal their secret counsels, and who, with these precautions, and after these methods, assume to decide for you, whether your laws are good or bad, right or wrong, just or unjust, expedient or inexpedient.* Even if they were angels from Heaven, infallible and all-wise personages, I would prefer, for my part, that we should ourselves, with all the risk of sometimes making mistakes, engage in the inspiring and ennobling task of self-government, in that task which, involving the existence of a free choice and free decision, involves too, of course, the possibility of error or even of wrong, but which embraces also the glorious right and duty of repairing error and redressing wrong. I would prefer it, with all its troubles, outweighed as they are by its merits and by its elevating characteristics, to being governed by fourteen angels or infallible men, who might indeed decide for us rightly, but who would deprive us of the right, the duty, the responsibility, and the educating and glorious attributes which belong to self-government, to a government of the people, by the people, for the people. (Cheers.) But *these are not fourteen angels.* (Laughter.) Their wings, at any rate, have not grown yet. (Loud laughter.) They are not infallible men. Their judgments may be wrong, for I have already given

you many lamentable instances of mistake on their part. *In all these matters in which we have taken issue with them, they were proven wrong and we were proven right.* We are bound, it seems to me, to insist that this question of disallowance shall be settled upon a firmer and more stable and more constitutional basis than that on which under the Tory doctrine it now rests. There are

SEVERAL OTHER INSTANCES

of a similar tendency towards centralization. For example, three or four sessions ago the Dominion Parliament passed a law which practically assumed control of all those Provincial railways which had been chartered by the Provinces, and subsidized by the Provinces, and which had been up to that time under Provincial control. By one Act, under a tyrannical and abusive misinterpretation of the constitution, these roads were declared, however short and local in character, to be, within the meaning of the constitution, roads for the general advantage of Canada, as distinguished from the Province to which they belonged, and were so seized. Then came also a plan of largely subsidizing merely local roads, and about the same time the Province of Quebec was assisted to the amount of millions in reference to some of its past Provincial railway expenditures. I said: If you are going to pay one Province for past railway expenditure, you should pay all. Deal with all on equal terms. They have all expended large sums on railways, all of which you are assuming. Then make a general re-arrangement. As to future subsidies for local railways, I said:—*It is better, if local railway enterprises are to be fostered, that they should be fostered and promoted by the Local Governments within whose jurisdiction the constitution has placed them, and if the means of the Local Governments are inadequate, better re-arrange the financial relations of the Dominion with the Local Governments, so that the latter may discharge their legitimate constitutional functions,* than for us at Ottawa to arrogate to ourselves these functions under the pretence that the Local Governments are too poor to discharge them. (Cheers.) But if not, then revise the constitution, and let us re-arrange its provisions. But the system of centralization prevailed then, and has prevailed in this regard with accelerated force. Other considerations there are, general and local, to some of which I shall advert later, some of which I must omit for brevity; but you must see that THE "UNION" GOVERNMENT, THE GOVERNMENT WHICH MADE ITS PROUD BOAST THAT IT HAD CREATED, AND FOSTERED, AND WAS PROMOTING AND STRENGTHENING THE UNION SPIRIT, HAS BEEN AT WAR WITH ALL

THE PROVINCES, that there are grievances and complaints everywhere. *We have had two rebellions in the North-West under the rule of these men, trouble with British Columbia, trouble with Manitoba, trouble with Quebec, trouble with Prince Edward Island, and trouble with Nova Scotia, about which I wish to speak more fully, and in the end, in almost all of these matters, the Government has yielded, so admitting they were wrong to resist, but not yielding in time, not being wise in time, and thus at once provoking irritation and discord by their delays and neglects, and yet by their final action producing the impression that pressure would in all cases result at last in concession.*

I now come to

THE GRAVE SITUATION IN NOVA SCOTIA.

It is lamentable to think that in the twentieth year of Confederation there should be an appeal to the people on such a ground and with such a result as has just taken place in Nova Scotia, and I feel bound to point out, in the interest of the Confederation and of our future as a country some of the causes which, as I conceive, have led to that unhappy and humiliating event. To do so satisfactorily would require me to discuss fully the questions of the tariff, the debt, the taxation, the expenditure, the question of reciprocity, the fisheries, and other subjects, which, in view of the historical sketch which I am obliged to give, there is no time to touch. I must turn back to

THE EVENTS WHICH PRECEDED CONFEDERATION,

and recall your attention to this fact, that we are reaping to-day some of the evils of old violations of constitutional principle, of old mistakes of policy, as well as of later acts of misgovernment breach of faith and neglect. When Confederation was mooted in Old Canada the Maritime Provinces were in actual conference at Charlottetown with a view to establishing a legislative union. The Canadian delegates proposed to that conference to give up the idea of a legislative union of the Maritime Provinces, and to go, each Province by itself, into a federal union with the two Canadas. I always thought that a mistaken plan. I thought, and think still, that a

LEGISLATIVE UNION OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES

would have been the best precursor of a federal union between the one Maritime State so formed, the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, and the great Provinces formed and to be formed in the West.

I believe that the proximity of the countries, the similarity of the characteristics of the people, the size and shape of the territory, the numbers of the population, the close community of interests, and the identity of the principal industries, all pointed to the fact that they together would form one strong, powerful Province by the sea, which might be constructed with all due regard to the efficient management of local affairs, to which I have referred, and which would have been better for them and for the other parties to the federal union than their entry into that relation as three comparatively small Provinces, each retaining its local identity, and each having a distinct federal relation to the others of them and to the Central and Western Provinces. But in this and other matters everything else was subordinated to the one idea of consummating some scheme of confederation quickly—itself an error; for the gestation of a nation, as has well been said, is not like the breeding of a rabbit; and, besides, time was on our side. This was a grave error, yet it was only an error of policy. But worse followed. There followed a most serious

BREACH OF CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLE.

Nova Scotia was forced into the Confederation under a resolution passed by a House not elected with any reference to that most important and fundamental change. That Legislature, unhappily, grossly misinterpreted the feelings of the people upon the subject, and the people believed they were betrayed by their representatives, in being resolved into confederation without being given an opportunity to express their opinion at the polls. I am afraid this course was pursued, not because an election was thought unnecessary, which was the allegation as to old Canada, but because it was feared that an election would result in a popular condemnation of the plan. And, if that be so, *I say that those who forced the Province into a constitutional change like Confederation without an election, because they feared an election would result in an adverse popular vote, were guilty of a great public crime against the liberties of a free people.* (Loud cheers.) Not only was it a great crime, but it was also an enormous blunder, because the feelings which that step necessarily aroused, the passions it excited, and the prejudices it evoked were calculated to greatly impair the chances of success of the union itself. It created a bitter feeling in Nova Scotia, a sense of wrong, a sense of injustice, a sense of coercion, a feeling strongly hostile to Canada, a feeling which caused every proposal emanating from Canada to be suspected and disliked, just because it came from those who were supposed to have forced the Province into the union. Better far to have followed the constitutional course of an appeal to the

people, and, if unsuccessful, of a repeated appeal after an interval, as

WAS DONE IN NEW BRUNSWICK.

The result in that Province is that, whatever grievances the people may think they have to complain of, they have not this at any rate—they cannot say they did not enter the union by the will of the majority of their people expressed at the polls. You can see, therefore, that the experiment of Confederation has had in Nova Scotia no fair chance. This feeling has never died out. The sense of injustice and wrong lingers for many years, and it was sure to impede our progress toward a real union. Now, when eighteen out of nineteen men came from Nova Scotia to Ottawa opposed to Confederation, an effort was made to arrange for an alteration of the financial terms of the union with Nova Scotia, and so to conciliate the Province, through the intervention, as the other parties to the bargain, of some of these same members at Ottawa, instead of trying to come to an agreement with the Local Government and Legislature, which was the real representative of the Provincial as distinguished from the Dominion interest. This, again, was a harmful blunder; the Provincial Government should have been respected and treated with as the lawful and constitutional representative of the Provincial interests. As to these financial terms, you perhaps know *that I never admired the plan of the Provincial subsidies*. It would have been preferable, as I have always thought, that the Provinces should have some sources of revenue of their own, so that they might have the power and responsibility of settling the scale of both income and expenditure. There is a good old rule which would have applied in this case—

“WHO SPENDS SHOULD PAY.”

If one man spends and another pays it is extremely likely the expenditure will be on an extravagant scale. But it was thought quite impossible to overcome the difficulties existing at the time of Confederation, and the system of grants to the Provinces was adopted simply as the only practicable plan. This arrangement was said to be a finality; it was said that the local Governments would have to supply any deficiencies by local taxation themselves. But this notion was entirely destroyed and all chance of finality done away with when, without the consent of the other Provinces, an alteration was made in the financial terms of union. I foresaw this result and objected strongly to any alteration in the financial terms without the consent of the Provinces. I said:—
“All the Provinces are parties to the bargain; one of the terms

of the bargain is that relating to the division of so much of the general revenues to each of the Provinces. If this is to be altered, all the parties to the bargain ought in some form to be consulted. It cannot be altered at Ottawa without discontent and possible injustice, and certainly, if it is altered for one, the time will come when there will be a call which you will not be able to resist for alterations for others, and so the element of finality will be taken away by what you propose." No, they said, it will be all right. But the results of their course have become manifest since, and they have been very serious. Many of the Provinces have since been looking to Ottawa for increases of their grants, and large expenditures and

DEPENDENCE UPON OTTAWA

have been the issue. I should be very glad if I were able to present to you a plan for the reorganization of our system; removing this radical weakness, but the difficulties which were thought to be insuperable at Confederation have become greater still since that event; and I see no clear solution. But I believe, not the less, that a rearrangement ought to take place, and in connection therewith a constitutional provision ought to be obtained requiring the assent of the Provinces to any further disturbance of the compact. So only can you reach that finality which was promised to us, but which, it is too clear, we cannot now expect under the existing system. I never proposed to abolish the Provincial subsidies, as has been untruly represented. I have been unable to propose a substitutionary scheme; and I am not in the habit of proposing in opposition, measures which I do not see my way to carrying out were I to be entrusted with the reins of power. *In the first session of Parliament, the members from Nova Scotia asked for a repeal of the union.* The Liberal proposal at that time was that a committee should be formed to consider the grievances of Nova Scotia, but that proposal was rejected. I, in my place in Parliament, asked the people and representatives of Nova Scotia to wait for the term of that Parliament, and to try for that length of time the experiment of the union; but I declared, speaking, of course, as a young member and for myself alone, that if the next appeal to the people of the Province should result in an unequivocal declaration against the Province remaining in Confederation, I did not see my way to holding in bonds to which they had

NEVER CONSTITUTIONALLY CONSENTED,

a free people. But I asked them honestly and fairly to try the experiment for the term of that Parliament, and to give the

union that chance. I believe I was almost alone in the view I held, but I thought then that I was right, and I think so still. (Loud cheers.) Time went on. Several of the Nova Scotia leaders were won over by the Government. Mr. Howe, the leader of the secession party, Mr. McLelan, the present Minister of Finance, and Mr. E. M. Macdonald obtained offices. The elections came on, and the Nova Scotians returned a majority for Sir Charles Tupper and Sir John Macdonald, the men who had forced them into the union. I assumed on this return that the effort to secede had been abandoned. I believe that Nova Scotia, which has since, except at one election, sustained, and is now sustaining, the policy of the Tories by sending large majorities to support them, has by that course of action, at any rate, greatly weakened, if she has not entirely lost, any claim to relief which she might have had on the ground of the original constitutional wrong inflicted on her. But, for all that, the feeling is there, and it is at this moment an important factor in the situation, and you as freemen and fellow-citizens of Canada, and we as statesmen dealing with the future of the Confederation, must take account of its existence, and do what we can to mitigate its effects. That feeling has kept us apart and has marred the chances of a real union. Nor can I acquit those who are responsible for it of a grave crime against the State. (Cheers.) Now the union was said by the Conservative Government themselves to be at first

ONLY A UNION ON PAPER,

which was to be made real in course of time by its practical working, by the practical benefits the people would derive from it. So, they said, it would become a union of hearts and souls, not a union in name or on paper only. What were the promises and pledges these men made at that time, particularly in the Maritime Provinces? They promised low taxation, a low scale of debt, strict economy in the public expenditure, no high or protective tariffs, reciprocal trade, great prosperity, an enormous and profitable trade with the Western Provinces, and that Halifax should be the great ocean port for the whole Dominion. It was of great consequence not to make extravagant promises at such a time. It was of still greater consequence that the promises which were made should, as far as possible, be fully performed. (Cheers.) But it was of the very last consequence that no promises so made should be wilfully broken. By acting on these views I believe it might have been proved that the interests of Nova Scotia could be guarded and maintained under Confederation, and so a better feeling might have been engendered. But that was not done. The contrary was done. These views of mine

are not being first stated at a late day, now that a crisis has arrived. They have been stated before. I have often warned these men of the difficulties which would attend the course they were pursuing. I want to prove this to you, and to state the case just as I did at the time. In the spring of 1880, in my place in Parliament, I used this language:—

SIR,—We must consider the circumstances of this whole Confederation. We must not forget the mode in which it was formed. Hon. gentlemen opposite affirmed with great warmth in 1867, and for years afterwards, that it was but a union on paper, and that the

REALITY AND PERMANENCE OF THE CONNECTION

were yet to be established and secured by a careful policy, and by a practical experience on the part of the people of its benefits. A cynic indeed has said that as between Ontario and Quebec it was a divorce rather than a union; that Nova Scotia was coerced into it, and compensated by damages for the loss of her honour; that New Brunswick was frightened into it and compensated as well; that Manitoba was forced and purchased into it, too; that Prince Edward Island and British Columbia were—shall I say?—seduced into it by pledges and promises, some impossible, all extravagant—at any rate by settlements of the most lavish character. But whether this description be true or not, at any rate hon. gentlemen admit that it was at first a union only on paper, I want to know what has been done to cement it, to make it real and permanent, to make it a union of hearts and interests, to give it vitality and strength. Look at the various Provinces. Almost every one, after all your better terms, is in deep financial difficulties, and is knocking at your door for further aid. Imitating your extravagance, they have out-run their resources, and they have come to look upon you as the great tax-gatherer for the Provinces, believing that they may go as far as they please, and that Canada must fill the void out of the Federal revenues. You have seen the distribution of your revenues, and your expenditure. You remember all the promises, at the time of union, of low taxes and cheap government. All, all are broken.

THE VAST SUMS YOU COLLECT

from the smaller Provinces, heavier *per capita* than you collect from Old Canada, and a grievous burthen on their people, are yet, as I have shown you, quite inadequate to meet their share of the cost of Confederation.

I must here observe that this view of the effect of the burdens of Customs and Excise upon the smaller Provinces was imperfect. It was based solely on figures from the Customs and Excise; but these did not represent, as I afterwards perceived, the real burden, even then; still less do they do so now, because a large part of the duties on goods used in Nova Scotia is paid in the ports of entry in other Provinces; and because also there is a considerable consumption of home-made goods at higher relative prices through the operation of the tariff. From which considerations it follows that the burden of taxation was, and is, heavier in the Maritime Provinces than I then thought it to be. The imperfect view which

I advanced had been, before then, put forward by Sir Leonard Tilley, the Finance Minister, and others. Its imperfection having been pointed out, I publicly stated the truth of the case not long after, though I see it still quoted as a complete representation. In the same

SPEECH IN THE SPRING OF 1880,

I went on to say :—

It is not by the forced connection of a restrictive tariff, compelling each of us to trade with some other of us, to our loss and against our will ; it is not by the fatal load of an enormous debt, lowering the value of our labours, and lessening the comfort of our lives ; it is not by flinging, with a lavish hand, into the mountains and rivers of Columbia all you can collect or borrow, while you starve all public works at home, that you will accomplish a real success, that you will consolidate and harmonise the union. You are making our load heavier than that of the United States. You are making it heavier than we can bear. You are paving the way to that very annexation which you profess to dread, because you are bringing us into a plight in which we may be forced to do as a people, what we heard described the other day as the sad end of many an imprudent individual borrower, to sell our poor equity of redemption to the only available purchaser. You profess unbounded faith in the permanence of your restrictive tariff ; you blame us for even discussing its operation, for throwing

DOUBTS ON ITS DURABILITY,

and at the same instant you send a High Commissioner to England, who asks her to close her ports against the grain of the world, in order that your farmers and hers may obtain from her millions of poor a higher price for the staff of life ; and who proposes in return that you should open your ports to her manufactures, thus destroying your revenue, and at the same time, under the fierce and unchecked competition of the cheapest producers in the world, blasting at once every one of your home industries, which is said to be dependent on a duty for its existence. Such is your reckless, your inconsistent, your vacillating, your unpractical policy ! Do you ask for mine ? I will tell it. Set free the springs of legitimate revenue, by removing the obstacles designed to choke them. Open the avenues of legitimate trade, by lowering the legislative bars designed to close them. Free the people as soon as may be, from the extortionate taxation by which you oppress them. Return to a moderate revenue tariff, the only practicable plan in our circumstances, and a necessary incident in whose operation is to give some of the so-called advantages of protection to some of your native industries. By an earnest and searching plan of economy and retrenchment, directed to every branch of the public service, help to redress the balance between revenue and expenditure, while you lighten the people's burdens.

In the same year, 1880, on the 10th December, I said :—

Will the hon. gentleman invite, I do not say upon the floor of this House, but to a private conference, such of his colleagues as come from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and discuss with them the effect and operation of this tariff, and find what they have got to say about it, about the feeling of their people, its effect upon their Provinces, and its proximate

effect upon this whole Confederation, if some of its iniquities be not removed? After the opportunities of this session I venture to say he will not find himself able to revel any longer in his dream of universal happiness and contentment, produced, from one end of the country to the other, by the tariff he adores

On many other occasions have I called attention to the necessity of considering the

REAL INTERESTS OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES

in the framing of our policy, and the failure of the Tory Government to give that consideration. In Nova Scotia for a large part of their staple products, as coal, potatoes, fish and other articles, the natural market is in the neighbouring country. For stating that I have been denounced in the House of Commons and throughout Ontario; I have been called a traitor. But I tell you now that what I said was absolutely true. (Cheers.) A wise man has said that he fights a difficult battle who fights against geography, and if you will look at the map you will see that Nova Scotia's natural trade, for many of her staples, is with the neighbouring country, and that the attempt to force them up into the Western Provinces is a fight against geography which has failed, The proximity of the people, the facility of sea transport, the numerous harbours, the opportunities for small vessels taking Nova Scotian products to the neighbouring States and bringing back cargoes of flour and other articles, gave rise to a

NATURAL, AND THEREFORE A HIGHLY PROFITABLE TRADE;

and Reciprocity, important as it is to all of us, was most important to them. But our fiscal policy was not really directed to the promotion of this end. The Tories said it was. They said, in 1878, that within two years they would procure Reciprocity. They were going to take means that had not been attempted before. Great Canada was to crush out the little United States. (Laughter.) We were to bring the pressure of our tariff to bear upon them and impair their industries, injure their commerce, and bring them to our terms. You have had eight years of the policy, and how much nearer have they brought you to Reciprocity than you were before? (Loud Applause.) You may indeed have excited the somewhat unduly sensitive spirit of the United States. You may have created there in some quarters a disposition, however unreasonable, to refuse what otherwise, in their own interest, they might have been more disposed to concede. You may have supplied the

OPPONENTS OF RECIPROCITY

and the advocates of restriction in the United States with fresh arguments, both in the appeal to passion and prejudice, and also by your precepts and example—for you have told them in effect : it is better not to reciprocate, better to restrict, better that each country should keep its markets to itself. And you declare still that this is so. Well, gentlemen, the time has not yet arrived—great, powerful, important though we are, comparing favourably though we do in wealth, population, and industries with the United States—we have not yet succeeded in putting our foot upon their necks and coercing them into Reciprocity, as the Tories said they would do in two years in 1878. So far as our tariff policy has operated, we are further from it than ever. We have abandoned the notions which would help it forward ; we put indeed a clause in our statute book giving authority to lower duties, and this the Government calls a standing offer to the States ; but when in one or two cases they lowered some duties, the Government did not respond, but have actually raised our duties on some of the same goods. And the *Mail*, their organ in Ontario, has more than once said that we do not want Reciprocity. In truth they are hostile to it ; and say so as loudly as they dare. Can you wonder that in this respect Nova Scotia is discontented ? Then Nova Scotia complains of want of means for its local services, and of injustice in this respect. When a large part of the

RAILWAY DEBT OF QUEBEC

was assumed by the Dominion, I proposed, as I have told you that the same course should be taken with Nova Scotia, Ontario and all the other Provinces, but that was refused. And yet the present financial distress of Nova Scotia is largely due to her railway expenditure. I proposed, also, that there should be a revision of the financial terms of Confederation in view of the existing difficulties, and of the proposals of the Dominion Government to undertake local expenditure. Listen to what I said in 1884 :—

Now, Sir, I think that the position of the Province of Quebec, as I have pointed out, has demanded for some time past, and is now demanding the attention of this Parliament ; and for my part, I have always been prepared to deal fairly by that, or any other of the Provinces, but on the condition of equal and fair justice to all. And I do not suppose my hon. friends from the Province of Quebec will ask more ; or those sitting on the other side, though they might view my proposition differently from what I view it, I do not think they will dissent from the spirit in which I now address myself to them ; namely, that it is fair and reasonable, under these circumstances, when a new policy of this kind is being proposed, to consider what

ITS REAL BASIS IS,

to consider what the real condition of the other Provinces is relative to that basis and otherwise, and to see whether what is being proposed as it stands, and without applying proper remedies for the application generally of the new principle you propose, can be called just. I say, Sir, that for my part I should desire, and it is one of the things which is most important for us to consider next to the constitutional question—I should desire that we should address ourselves very early and very earnestly to the solution of the question, by the adoption of some plan whereby, once for all, the question of the Provincial subsidies should be placed on a permanent and lasting basis. I believe it to be destructive of the independence and autonomy of the Provinces that they should be looking to Ottawa for favours, that they should be dependent on the Central Government for carrying on their affairs. I believe it to be destructive to Confederation itself, that a system should continue under which it might be said :—“ Oh, we will go on ; we will expend more, we will go into debt, and when we get to a pass that we cannot carry on any longer, the Ottawa Parliament must relieve us.” Any sentiment of that kind, any feeling of that kind, any notion on the part of Provincial Ministers, or politicians, or the citizens or electors of the Provinces, of that kind, must be destructive, in the first place of good

ECONOMICAL GOVERNMENT IN THE PROVINCES,

and, in the second place, in its influence, moral and financial, on the Confederation—destructive ultimately of the Confederation itself. Therefore I think it is a pressing and incumbent duty upon us to endeavour, if we can, to devise a plan which will set these matters permanently upon a basis different from that upon which they now unhappily stand.

I also said in the same speech :—

When the late member for West Middlesex (Mr. Ross) declared last year that the grant of railway aid was an interference with the Provinces, the Minister of Railways stated that the Provincial revenue were exhausted, and he though the Provincial Legislatures and Governments would be obliged to the Dominion Parliament for the aid granted. This is not the only case in which suggestions of the same dangerous character have been brought forward. We have had a suggestion that the administration of justice, which belongs to the Provinces, should be

PAID FOR BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ;

and if that course were adopted it would, of course, follow that those functionaries whom the Central Government pay, should also be appointed by them, that that administration which they pay for they should also control. And so, I will not say by slow, but by rapid degrees, the hon. gentleman, instead of invading Provincial rights, they buy them from the Provinces one by one—he may acquire them under the guise of being a benefactor. Such is far from being the principle on which the Confederation of Canada was framed ; it is far from being the principle on which the Confederation of Canada can last. If it be the fact that the Provincial Governments and Legislatures, after an experience of seventeen years, are not in a position financially to discharge those functions which belong to them, the whole subject ought to be reconsidered. If, in consequence of their impecuniosity, they are unable effectually to discharge their own functions, you may do one

of two things. You may say : We propose to alter the Constitution so that the Central Government shall take this, that, and the other, and so relieve you both of your importance, dignity, power, and Provincial autonomy, and of expense at the same time ; or you may propose a new adjustment of the financial question, which will enable you efficiently to continue the discharge of those functions which for seventeen years you have been discharging. But the proposal of the hon. gentleman is neither of these propositions, it is a proposal. I do not use the word offensively, under the guise of a bribe. The hon. gentleman says the Provincial Governments will be very much obliged to us if we give railway aid here and there, but this is a proposal calculated to sap the

INDEPENDENCE OF THE LOCAL LEGISLATURES

and Governments ; calculated to lead them to look to this House for pecuniary favours not based on some general principle, not under the lines of the constitution, and so to lead towards the hon. gentleman's great goal. Now, I consider, therefore, that we ought to deal with this question after a full development of the tendencies and principles of the policy, and deal with it, as indeed I think the time is ripe for us to deal with several other questions, upon a revision of the federal constitution. I think it is not at all unreasonable to say that even if the constitution had been framed in a very different manner from that in which it was framed, which was a manner not very likely to produce a perfect instrument—I say, even if it were framed in a different manner, it would not be unreasonable to say that seventeen years' working and experience would have developed difficulties and defects ; and I believe all true Canadians, without distinction of party or political creeds, ought, if they want Confederation really to prosper, to address themselves without further delay to the questions : In what respects does our constitution at present work well ? what frictions and difficulties have been discovered in the workings of it ? what alterations should take place ? and endeavour to arrange it so that it may do the work it ought to do, smoothly, and to the advantage both of the Provinces and of the Confederation of Canada as a whole. But I do not think that is any reason why we should proceed upon a false policy—a policy which is leading us with rapid steps in a direction which, I think, if presented plainly to the majority of this House, they would effectually disavow and repudiate. Now, sir, I decline to agree to the proposal that we should undertake any of the proper functions of a Local Legislature by our vote. If we are going to undertake any of the functions of the Local Legislatures it should be on an alteration of the constitution, which may place any part of those functions within our grasp, and leave to them their diminished functions.

And referring to Nova Scotia particularly, I used these words :

Quebec is in a condition which demands the serious consideration of the Confederation. But she is not alone in that condition. You will find statements made from the Province of Nova Scotia, for example, and those who have endeavoured to analyze—I know, with difficulty, with very great aptitude to err for want of information—those who have attempted to analyze the expenses of that Province will, I think, find that there has not been a very great deal to complain of in the way of extravagance. At least that was the result of such cursory investigation, as from time to time, I have been able to make into the expenditures of that Province, and I am not singling out any one Government from another—there has been alteration of Governments—I do not find that there has been much extravagance, or that the expenditures have been in excess, to a large amount, if at all, of the demands

of that Province. We know, however, that its resources are cramped ; that it is more or less in a state of distress locally.

It is unfortunate, I think, that none of the Provinces seem disposed to adopt in its fulness our municipal system, with its large measure of local government and direct taxation. But they will not do it. They are

NOT SO PATIENT OF THE TAX-GATHERER

as we in Ontario. (Laughter and applause.) And the question is, What is to be done ? I have shown, at any rate, that we were not blind to the situation, and that, so far as our position admitted, we suggested measures of relief. On the general relation of the Dominion to the Provinces, and the dangers in which we stood, I spoke in January, 1885, and I ask you in the face of the present situation in Nova Scotia, to listen to the words I then used :—

If I could hope that my words would have any weight I would pray the House to recognize, though it may be late, our true position, to apprehend the fact that we are, and have been for some time, rather weakening than strengthening the true bonds of union, that our centralizing policy, our policy of high and sectional taxation, our policy of extravagant expenditure, has been and is alienating important elements in Canada from sympathy with the union itself ; that it is our duty to recall the promises that were made to the various Provinces which were induced to enter into this union, the promises of economical government and of low taxation, the promises with respect to trade, the promises with respect to a fiscal policy, the promises with respect to expenditure, which were made particularly by the leaders in the Maritime Provinces at the time the union measure was brought before them ; and that we ought to set about the initiation of a true Federal policy, involving together with the practical recognition of the Federal principle, a reduction of expenditure, and such a reduction of taxation as past extravagance permits, a policy suitable to our actual circumstances, instead of one based on hollow dreams already proved untrue, and but too likely, if persisted in, to end in a disastrous waking.

We are waking up now, and we find the men who for twenty years promised you smooth things, who proclaimed themselves the makers of the union, the only persons who could create and strengthen a national spirit in Canada, face to face with the lamentable spectacle of a divided country, with a large part of its people protesting that the Canadian policy is treacherous and ruinous, and, in despair of all other relief, asking for separation as a remedy. Now, in January last, in London, I touched again on this subject. I said :—

Look, I pray you, everywhere and at everything. Contrast predictions and promises with events and results, and say whether our rulers are to be trusted more. Alas ! their removal will not undo all the evil they have wrought. Their works will live after them. They have brought the country into such a state that we must abandon for years to come the hope of dis-

pensing with very burdensome taxation, though I believe our condition may be greatly bettered by wise readjustments and judicious relaxations, and by honesty, economy, and retrenchment in government. They promised to create a mutually beneficial inter-provincial trade. They have, indeed, forced some of our western products and trade upon the East : but they have failed to give the East a western market, and they have produced in the Maritime Provinces a condition of irritation and ill-feeling, so marked a sense of injustice at the violation of pre-Confederation promises, so great that it is my belief that the sentiment as to Confederation is less strong to-day than it was ten years ago. I regret that many in the East blame Confederation rather than misgovernment for the unhappy results.

And again I said :—

As to the money relations, theirs has been a hand-to-mouth policy—not based on general principles, bad for all the Provinces, productive of local operations, demands, and expectations of the most serious character. They have brought the question at test one of great difficulty and touching a grave, I hope not a fatal, defect in the Confederation scheme, into still greater difficulties. At this moment the situation of Nova Scotia is serious. That Province has made representations to Ottawa which have perhaps got into the North-West pigeon-holes, and discontent and irritation are aroused. The settlement with Quebec did not take into account the claims of the other Provinces, and is said not to be final for Quebec itself, which is claimed to be still in a distressed financial condition. Other Provinces are coming forward, and the question has reached an acute condition.

At the opening of our last session I lifted once more a warning voice. But I spoke then, as before, to deaf ears. At length results have followed from the policy of the Government.

AFTER NEARLY TWENTY YEARS,

not being satisfied with the treatment accorded them, or with the results of Confederation, a majority of the Nova Scotians have declared for repeal. Not that I believe all those who voted for, or were elected as supporters of the Government, agree in the repeal policy. As far as I can judge that is not so ; though the bulk do. What all were agreed on is that the policy of the Dominion Government is most injurious to Nova Scotia ; and that this should be declared in the most solemn way. At that declaration of dissatisfaction with the policy of the Government I am not surprised. I have already referred to the physical characteristics of the Province, and its capabilities for trade, and have shown you the effect in these respects of the Federal policy. But if you turn to the great industries which it was said the tariff would especially favour in Nova Scotia—the cotton industry, the sugar industry, the coal industry, the iron industry, bonussed and bountied at the expense of the general taxpayer, you find depression and embarrassment everywhere, and bankruptcy and liquidation general. There has been an immense loss

of money, and the trades are unprofitable. Some other industries which have done better have lived, not because of the tariff, but in spite of it.

THE CITY OF HALIFAX

is in a deplorable condition; the value of land has depreciated; there has been a large emigration from the Province; profitable branches of the West India trade have been to a great extent lost; and you know the condition of the fisheries question. The memorial of the Provincial Legislature to the Dominion Government asking for relief was neglected for about two years. They might have been Half-breeds from the way the Government treated them. (Applause and laughter.) At length last session the Nova Scotia Assembly passed a resolution looking to repeal. And that you may see how far I am accurate in saying that their grounds were largely based on the financial and fiscal policy of the Tory Dominion Government, I will read you an extract. It is this:—

That Nova Scotia, previous to the Union, had the lowest tariff, was notwithstanding, in the best financial condition of any of the Provinces entering the union. That the commercial as well as the financial condition of Nova Scotia is in an unsatisfactory and depressed condition. That it seems evident that the terms of the British North America Act, combined with the high tariff and fiscal laws of the Dominion, are largely the cause of this unsatisfactory state of the finances and trade of Nova Scotia.

I think I have shown you that the evils of the Government policy, as affecting Nova Scotia and the interests of Confederation generally, were from time to time noticed by us, and that we warned the Government against the results which would attend their course.

WE CALLED FOR A CHANGE

that would bring about a better state of things, but they would not heed. And now they have brought us to this pass. Yet I cannot acquit the people of Nova Scotia themselves of a very considerable share of the responsibility for all this. They have sent powerful Ministers and large majorities to Ottawa to initiate and support the very policy of which they now complain as so injurious and distasteful to themselves. Some responsibility for what has been done Nova Scotia must therefore assume; and, alas! much that has been done is now irreparable. But though much be taken, much remains. There is still some opportunity for improving our condition as a people, or at any rate arresting the disintegrating and deteriorating and weakening elements of the policy of the Government. And to this end the Nova Scotians should address themselves. You may ask me how it was that

Nova Scotia in the House of Commons sustained the Government policy. I believe

THE REAL SENTIMENTS OF THE PEOPLE

were not voiced by the returns to Parliament. How was the voice of the people checked? In part by the directly corrupting influences used by the Government party; in part by the influence of some of the large employers of labour; in part by a system of local grants based mainly on party interests, and not on public considerations; in part by the hardly disguised but disgraceful practice of dealing with local claims according to the political complexion of the election returns, making a local grant the price of sending a supporter to Ottawa. It was checked also by the belief of the people, assiduously cultivated by the Government's friends, that no matter how many Reformers they should send to Ottawa from the Maritime Provinces, the Conservative Government would, on the whole count all over Canada, be in the majority, and by the evil suggestion that it was of no use sending a man to go into Opposition. And so it has been that a majority has voted for and sustained the Government, whose policy the greater part of the people disliked. Had there been a fair vote, freely expressing the sentiments of the people, instead of our opponents having a large majority, I believe we would have had

THREE VOTES OUT OF FOUR

in the Maritime Provinces. (Cheers.) To these circumstances was due the divergence between the sentiments of the people and their vote, the contradiction between the local and the Federal returns. I do not greatly admire this result. Yet I am proud to say there has always been a large and faithful body of men who have stuck to the cause in its darkest days, and their spirit will be even higher to-day. The influences which have helped the Government will be less potent. There is a great and growing feeling among friends and foes that we shall win at the next election—(cheers)—and this faith in the improving fortunes of the Liberal party should animate our friends, depress our opponents, influence the neutrals, and largely weaken some of the influences which have kept us heretofore in a minority in the East. We have had our days of gloom and darkness, of difficulty and distress. It is but an hour ago since those who compose this meeting were but a wet and disorganized mob in the grove. Now we are dry, compact, and warm. I know one of us at any rate who is pretty warm. (Laughter.) We are organized again, and we are engaged in discussing public affairs under somewhat disadvantageous circumstances, but with

A ZEAL, AN INTEREST, AND ATTENTION

which overcome those drawbacks, and which forebode the best results. Your tone and temper reflect the general feeling. We have, indeed, before us an arduous, a tremendous conflict, but, bracing ourselves for that conflict, we stand to win. (Cheers.) It is certainly my opinion that Nova Scotia owes it to the union, and owes it to the Liberal party, which has been the staunch friend and steadfast advocate of that fiscal and financial policy which it approves, and the earnest opponent of those measures which it condemns, to itself endeavour, and to afford to us an opportunity, within the union, within the limits of the constitution, to repair what may yet be reparable of the wrongs of the past, and to show that Confederation, worked upon a better basis, affords a better prospect of success. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) The situation is doubtless extremely grave. Its gravity is due to the Tories, but if we succeed, the consequences of their conduct will largely fall upon us. We must face those consequences, we must face the difficult task, determined to achieve, so far as the evil policy which has been followed makes it possible, the redress of what is wrong and the maintenance of what is right, and so to bring about a better state of things throughout Canada at large. (Cheers.) It would be a great calamity, a dreadful humiliation, to see the break-up of Confederation. To diminish, and if possible avert, that danger, requires a change of policy at Ottawa. It requires

A RECOGNITION OF THE DANGER.

It requires a recognition of the true conditions of Federal success. And the men who through all these years have misgoverned us, who have been deaf to our warnings, who have been blind to the signs of the times, who have produced, and who now boast of the state of things which has given rise to this result—are these the men we can trust to-day? (Cries of “No!” “No!” and cheers.) How sad a commentary it all is upon the boasts of the “party of union and progress.” Rebellion in Manitoba in 1870, rebellion in the North-West in 1885, discontent in Manitoba almost always, discontent in Prince Edward Island and appeals to England; constant claims of the Provinces long denied, at length yielded; fights for centralization by Ottawa, fights for the preservation of their rights by the Provinces, litigations with the Provinces, and humiliating defeats in every one—(cheers)—fights for boundaries, fights for lands, fights for mines, fights for timber, fights for escheats, fights for licenses, fights for railways, fights for the local right to make local laws; efforts to coerce trade, to restrict com-

merce ; enormous debt, high taxation, gigantic expenditure, distress in trade, hard times among the people at large, corruption rampant, and

FORTUNES MADE AT OTTAWA ;

and now, following all this, a serious movement on the part of an important Province for repeal. Is this a condition of things calling for commendation ? (" No," " no," and cheers.) Is this what should induce you to trust the Tory party with a longer lease of power ? No ! The condition is humiliating to that party, and it involves humiliation to the country at large. The consequences do not fall upon their own party only. For the evils which they have done we all suffer, and the whole country should avenge them. (Cheers.) There should be a determination of the whole country to stand by those who have stood by them so long, and an earnest effort by a disappointed, humiliated, and justly incensed community to restore the public fortunes. (Cheers.) Let us awake to the real situation ;

LET US DWELL NO LONGER IN A FOOL'S PARADISE !

Let us realize that that which was said by these men in 1867, as to the union being still to make, has been proved by the events of the last few weeks to be unhappily true to-day ; and that its truth to-day is due to the misconduct of themselves, who have, during three-fourths of the interval directed our policy, and have yet to learn the first elements of Federal success. These are not, in my opinion, the men to whom we can safely entrust the difficult task of repairing their great errors, of undoing their great wrongs, of rescuing you from the consequences of their evil deeds, and of giving you what measure of peace, union, and prosperity they have left possible for Canada. (Cheers.) I shall not longer detain you. There are many topics which I would like to have discussed, but I have addressed you at length, as fellow-Canadians, as men interested in the preservation of the union, and the granting of the just demands of every member of the Confederation, I have addressed you on one of the most important topics now before the country. I see that you FEEL ITS CONSEQUENCE. THOUGH THERE MAY BE A NARROW SENSE IN WHICH THESE MATTERS DO NOT CONCERN US SO DIRECTLY AS OUR LOCAL INTERESTS, YET I SHOULD UNDERVALUE YOUR PUBLIC SPIRIT AS CITIZENS OF CANADA AND YOUR DESIRE FOR THE MAINTAINANCE OF THE CHARACTER, STAND_ING, AND INTEGRITY OF YOUR COUNTRY, DID I HESITATE TO
 E THAT YOU HOLD IN THE FIRST ESTIMATION THE SUBJECT
 SET BEFORE YOU OF THE RELATIONS OF THE DOMINION TO
 ROVINCES AT LARGE, AND THE MEANS TO BE ADOPTED FOR
 AINTAINANCE AND PRESERVATION OF THE UNION. (Loud and
 ged cheering.)

CONSTITUTIONALISM.

ELECTIONS NEAR AT HAND—TORY BALLOONS—THE NOVA SCOTIA
DIFFICULTY.

At Guelph, after returning thanks for the addresses, Mr. BLAKE said:—I must urge upon you to close up your ranks for the coming contest. (Applause.) I would appeal to the Young Liberals of Wellington to show themselves equal to the occasion. All through the Province of Ontario my heart has been cheered and my spirits have been raised, in the meetings I have been attending in the east and the west, and the north and the south, to find flocking round me so many of the young men of the country, exhibiting such fresh and active zeal in public affairs. I trust that your organization will be perfected, that new accessions may be made to the club from this night, and that you will prove yourselves an important factor, prove your zeal by your works, leave the impress of your convictions upon the constituency, and swell to much larger proportions than in the last election the majority of your standard-bearer, Mr. Innes. (Cheers.) I say I am glad to be able to say these things to you to-night, because it is full time, in my opinion, that we should begin to act here and elsewhere.

THE TIME IS SHORT, INDEED.

When it was proposed in Parliament very greatly to enlarge the franchise, I stated the opinion that constitutional principles required that the extension should be followed by an early election. I have called for that election. Some seven or eight weeks ago, at Stayner, I pointed out this view again, and suggested that we should have that dissolution to which I believe the constitution entitled us. There is no other ground upon which what would otherwise be a premature dissolution could properly take place. The term of Parliament is but five years, and under ordinary circumstances it is not expedient that the country should be plunged more frequently than at these intervals into the turmoil of a general election. But it is expedient when the

PARLIAMENT HAS CONDEMNED ITSELF

as being the product of a constituency altogether too narrow, when it has enormously increased that constituency, that, being self-condemned, it should be also speedily executed, and a new

Parliament elected by the broader constituency which has been established as the true exponent of the views of the people. However, when I stated these opinions the Conservatives were dumb. You have not heard from any member of Parliament, even of the rank and file; still less have you heard from any Conservative leader; still less have you seen in any Conservative journal (not even in the *Mail*, with its new born "independence"), a word upon the constitutional propriety of dissolution. Why? Because they have not settled upon the expediency of dissolution. They are considering simply, as they considered in 1882, whether a dissolution will be to their party profit or not. If it is to their profit to have a dissolution, or if a dissolution will expose them to less disadvantage now than they might dread in the near future, you will find them dissolve. Otherwise you will find them not dissolve. But

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PREROGATIVE WITH WHICH THEY ARE IN-
TRUSTED—THE POWER OF DISSOLUTION—IS NOT VESTED
IN THEM TO BE USED ARBITRARILY

for party purposes. It is intended to be used according to the principles of the Constitution for the public good. You recollect how they abused, I will not say their power, but the duties with which they were clothed in the cases of the bye-elections. They informed Parliament that they proposed not to issue the writ for Haldimand, because it was expected that in a few months the electorate would be greatly enlarged, and it would be an insult to the new electorate to hold the election before the new voters could vote. In this view there was a general acquiescence of both sides of the House. I knew how the lists had been prepared in Haldimand. A large Indian vote had been added, and the Tories had otherwise strengthened themselves in the county under the new lists, and I suspected it was not a regard for the constitutional principle so much as the hope that they might carry the county that induced them to be so scrupulous. But I thought there was justice and reason in the postponement of the election, and I did not object, though it was to my disadvantage to delay. Afterwards it was thought expedient to test the feeling.

IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC,

and so within a few weeks of the time when the new voters would have the right to vote, Chambly was vacated voluntarily by the appointment of the sitting member to an office which had been long kept vacant for him. Immediately the writ was issued for Chambly with the electorate unchanged, and this was done

because the Government knew that the new electorate would have been unfavourable to them, and so Chambly was actually fought before Haldimand. It is quite true these plans failed. You know that

“THE BEST LAID PLANS O’ MICE AND MEN GANG AFT AGLEE,”

and so it was found in Chambly, and so it was found in Haldimand. But none the less was there a flagrant prostitution by the Tory party of those powers and duties with which they are entrusted in the general interest—a prostitution which not their leaders, not their organs, not their followers, have yet been found bold enough to defend. They submit in silence to the attack. So will it be in reference to the dissolution. I desire to say to you that I believe the Conservative leaders have been in great doubt what to do. *They have not known which way to turn. They have been watching the signs of the times. They have been looking at the special elections. They have been looking at the general Provincial elections. They have been sending up trial balloons. They have been uttering race cries. They have been uttering creed cries. They have been waving Orange flags. They have been lifting up green flags a little. They have been trying, in an independent sort of a way, and through the wholly unconnected agency of the Mail newspaper, to float the*

WHITE BANNER OF PROHIBITION ALSO,

(laughter)—while, on the other side, you see Mr. Frank Smith and Mr. John Carling waving the blue Licensed Victuallers’ flags as boldly as ever. All these efforts they have been making to see which way the wind was blowing, and sometimes they thought it would be well to hold on a bit, and sometimes that it would be better to face the music now. I believe they have about decided that they had better face the music now. I believe they have decided that the general election ought to take place very soon; not that they think the times are very good for them, or very prosperous just now, but because they are afraid they may become even worse. They are afraid of time—afraid of discussion—afraid of Parliament—afraid of the removal of those mists of passion and prejudice which, I rejoice to say, with very partial success, they have been attempting to raise. They are hoping to spring the election upon you before you are ready, and to press it through before the great and numerous issues upon which your judgment ought to be formed, and on which your votes ought to be cast, shall have been thoroughly ventilated. I believe, as I have told you, from information which I have received within the last twenty-four hours, that they are making secret preparations, and that

THE ELECTION WILL BE SPRUNG UPON US

within a very short period. It matters not that the First Minister has more than once, in recent public assemblages, spoken of the appeal to the people to be taken next year—that one of his Ministers, Mr. White, has more than once referred to the appeal to the people to be taken after next session. I am afraid they won't be so scrupulous about changing their minds in this regard. I am afraid they won't be very sorry if you should be disposed, until they speak the new word, to take them at their word, as expressed in their meetings, and to rest upon your oars. It will not do. We must vigorously prepare from this night onward; and while I rejoice at the view that we are to have a constitutional dissolution—while I am glad to believe that we are very early to meet the people—I claim, on behalf of my fellow-countrymen, that there should be a reasonable announcement of the intentions of Ministers to dissolve, and a reasonable interval between the dissolution and the day of the election, in order that these grave, these enormous, these vital questions to which I have referred may be fully, temperately, and calmly discussed and adequately decided by the people at the polls. While I make that claim, I have but little expectation that it will be granted; and, therefore, I have to call upon you in this South Riding of Wellington, and through you and through the press

I HAVE TO CALL UPON OUR FRIENDS IN EVERY COUNTY,

to take heed, to be warned, to make preparations, without an instant's delay, to perfect their organization, to choose their candidates, to close up their ranks, and to prepare for the fight forthwith. Now is the time, Mr. Chairman, to save your country, for, if you do not save it now, there is a risk that five years hence you may have no country to save.

THE SITUATION OF OUR COUNTRY

is such as calls for an earnest struggle. This is the time at which the people exercise in act their power of self-government. This is the time at which they are enabled to decide what shall be their policy, and who shall be their rulers for the long term of five years; and there is much for which to struggle. Look at the situation of our country—weighed down with an enormous debt; loaded with a grinding and unjust taxation; groaning under an appalling expenditure; staggering beneath a tremendous deficit; saddled with railway monopolies, with land monopolies, with manufacturing monopolies; misrepresented through an infamous gerrymandered

Act, a vicious Franchise Act, and a corrupt disposal of the public resources ; misgoverned by an effete and irresponsible Senate, a corrupt and dependent Commons, and a false, incompetent, neglectful, and inadequate administration ; all the bright promises and glowing predictions with which they gulled us broken and faded ; the pledged term of ten years' unexampled prosperity hardly opened before its evanescent glory faded into gloom, its expansion became contracted, its exaltation depression ; the promise that our policy and the pressure of our tariff would open the avenues of foreign trade and bring

REIPROCITY WITHIN TWO YEARS,

broken too, and now coolly proposed to be replaced by a fresh due bill payable at ten years instead of two—anything to get them over the next general election ; the great fishery question neglected and postponed at first, and bungled at the last ; the North-West not filled with hundreds of thousands of industrious, thriving, contented settlers, as promised and declared, but still almost empty ; progress stayed there by misgovernment, land monopolies, railway monopolies, by sales to speculators, by the closing of large areas to settlement, by want of railway accommodation, by want of surveys, by want of titles, by bad appointments, and by other causes graver still ; the most cherished infants and the chief glories of the National Policy spindling, nervous, and depressed ; wool and cotton, sugar and iron, aye, even coal and wheat, all down lately, and some seeking by combination to compel the public to make up their wasted capital ; the promises of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway without increased taxation, and of the repayment of its cost and interest out of the North-West lands as the work progressed, all violated ; great public gifts, equal to \$98,000,000, capitalized, with 14,000,000 acres of land, dissipated, while large further obligations have been sanctioned, and enormous nominal capitals have been created, pressing heavily on the trade of the country in tolls and tariffs ; the federal pact in constant peril through efforts at centralization and encroachment ; legitimate provincial jurisdictions repudiated ; license laws passed at Ottawa ; provincial railways seized at Ottawa ; escheats claimed at Ottawa ; a provincial law on a matter within our exclusive competence, and in no wise affecting the general interests of the Dominion, wantonly,

REPEATEDLY AND ERRONEOUSLY DISALLOWED

at Ottawa ; efforts made for long years at Ottawa wrongfully to contract the limits of Ontario ; the boundary question still left

unsettled, and justice denied; the lands seized on and despoiled, and still threatened to-day; the provinces alarmed, and fighting the Dominion in the courts and at the polls for their existence. The fact that

NOVA SCOTIA

was brought into the Confederation by the vote of a Legislature not elected on the question has not been forgotten; it has marred the future of the Dominion in that Province, and it is bearing bitter fruit to-day. The chances which have since offered to heal the wrong and create a better feeling have not been utilized. The promises made of light taxes, frugal expenditure, general prosperity, and freer trade relations with our neighbours have all failed. The East is depressed and soured, and a declaration in favour of repeal of the union has been made by Nova Scotia; while in the West, twice within fifteen years, revolt has raised its head, and millions have been lavished in war; valued lives have been lost; pain and suffering have been inflicted; antipathies have been created; our national honour has been tarnished; our

NATIONAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN CHECKED;

all by the grossest, the most incredible folly, neglect, incapacity, and mismanagement of our rulers. (Loud and prolonged applause.) And now how is it proposed to escape the indignation and avoid the condemnation of an outraged people? *First, by a steady and persistent effort—I am sorry to say but too successful—to degrade the tone of public morality in and out of Parliament; and, latterly, by tendering the issue of the scaffold of Regina, by offering the head of Riel in satisfaction and discharge of all other debts; and by an effort to divide Canadians, to set a gulf between our populations through cries of race and religious prejudice, and so to obtain a brief term of inglorious power at the cost of the last hope of Canadian nationality.* (Loud cheers.) Such is the situation of Canada to-day,

A SITUATION PRESENTING DIFFICULTIES APPALLING

to the view of those who may be called upon to succeed your present rulers, but affording a prospect more alarming still, should power be again entrusted to their unworthy hands. (Loud cheers.) Did I not say well, then, when I warned you a moment ago, that now was the time to labour, when I told you that if you do not labour now to save your country, in five years you may have

NO COUNTRY TO SAVE ?

I have referred to the Province of Nova Scotia, and a word or two more I wish to say about that Province, although at Simcoe a while ago I spoke my mind, and must refer you to what I then said for the story at length. *I am, by conviction and feeling, a Federalist.* (Loud cheers.) I think Confederation in Canada fairly begun and fairly carried out had in it the elements of success. (Renewed cheering.) I deplore the small measure of real success which has been attained under the rule of the so-called "party of union and progress." I have warned them often, but in vain. I have warned them often of the fatal mistake they were making. They have refused to listen, they have been blind to the true principles of the Federal pact. They have broken the pledges made at the union. They have not yet created true and real bonds of union. But, as I showed at Simcoe, Nova Scotia, in my judgment, is not herself free from blame. She has sustained, by a large majority of her representatives, the bulk of that of which she now bitterly complains. I have constantly pointed out the misgovernment that was going on, and the mistakes that were being made, and have implored a change. I am bound to admit—my own record precludes me from denying—that the Nova Scotians have, in common with other sections, cause of complaint, but I contend now, as heretofore, that

HER CAUSE FOR COMPLAINT

is not merely against the present Government, but is largely against her own people, who return members to support, and against those members who, through mud and mire, have sustained that Government in the accomplishment of the things she now bewails. I am constrained to add that much—alas, too much—of the evil of what she complains is irreparable; and I declare that in my opinion Nova Scotia should in fair play give the Confederation a fair trial under Liberal rule, and should assist in that earnest effort which must be made to undo what may be yet undone of the evils which she has helped to inflict on herself and us. Mr. Fielding, the Prime Minister of that Province, has frankly stated that he had no more to hope from me than from Sir John Macdonald in the direction of repeal, but, he added, that in the way of redress, so far as that was possible under the Constitution, in the way of good government at Ottawa, Nova Scotia had much more to hope for from me than from those who had perpetrated the acts of the folly and injustice of which she complains; he is right. (Loud cheers.) We must make an earnest effort to re-

dress these evils under and within the limits of the Canadian Constitution. (Loud applause.) We must strive to remove all well-founded grievances, to cultivate true friendship, to create

NOT FORCED BUT GENUINE RELATIONS,

and so to provide for the maintenance—not by force, but by love; not by arms, but through reason; not by coercion, but of choice; not of necessity, but from conviction—to provide, I say, for the maintenance and preservation of that union to which I have devoted twenty years, and for whose welfare I would willingly surrender what brief space of life may yet remain to me. (Tumultuous applause.) Difficult though the task may be, I do not despair of its accomplishment. I cannot regard without dismay the prospect of the disruption of Confederation; nor am I candidly able to perceive how Nova Scotia, seceding under the obligations she has helped to contract, and standing alone, could now better her position to the degree by which she could improve it by honest government at Ottawa. I may be wrong; I am willing to learn; but such is the view I take. At any rate, the effort must be made. I hope much from an honest effort to do justice. Should that effort unhappily fail, then, and not till then—though I trust that day may never come—it will be time to put Joseph Howe's famous question—"What next?" (Loud and prolonged applause.)

(4)



SPEECH TO YOUNG LIBERALS,

Owen Sound.

CLASS DISTINCTIONS.

**Changes, Improvements and Reforms—Reform of the
Senate—Assisted Immigration—Manhood Suffrage.**

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION.

THE DUTY OF THE LEADER.

When Mr. Blake's health was proposed by the Chairman, his name was greeted by the Young Liberals with enthusiastic cheers, after which they sang "For he's a jolly good fellow, which nobody can deny."

Hon. EDWARD BLAKE rose to respond, his rising being a signal for a prolonged renewal of the cheering.

He said :—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, you may say "He's a jolly good fellow," but to say that nobody can deny it, shows that you don't read the Tory newspapers—(cheers and laughter)—because you will find it denied by them constantly, so often, in fact, that I am obliged to believe they must be right in that particular myself. (Cries of no, no, laughter and applause.) I am very grateful to you for the honour you have done me on this the first visit it has been my happiness to make to this locality, in inviting me to a demonstration so important as the present, the largest I have ever seen in any of the outlying portions of our Province. (Loud applause.) I am grateful, also, for the marks of kindness, confidence and affection which have been showered upon me since I came amongst you. We public men, among the difficulties, embarrassments, and discouragements we must encounter in the course of our careers, are glad to feel, as we often are permitted to feel in the midst of the conflict, that Reformers here and Reformers elsewhere hold up our hands in the fight for the right, the fight for the advancement of the ruling and underlying principles of Liberalism. We are glad to know, as occasions of this kind from time to time demonstrate to us, that there are many of our fellow-citizens to all appearance quite engrossed in the ordi-

nary vocations of life, who yet regard with an anxious eye, and follow with an attentive ear, the proceedings of the public men in whom they confide, who feel a genuine interest in the struggle, and who are resolved to stand by their leaders, although the contest may sometimes seem long and arduous, and the period of success remote. It is not so, I trust, with us, to-day. (Cheers.)

We have had a time of severe and arduous struggle; we have had a season of gloom and darkness; but I trust THE DAY IS BREAKING AND THE SOUNDS of an aroused public spirit ARE BECOMING AUDIBLE NOT MERELY IN THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO, BUT IN THE OTHER PROVINCES OF THE DOMINION. (Renewed Cheers.) I hope for it, not for the sake of the Reform party, but for the sake of those principles of which the Reform party is at this moment the standard-bearer and exponent, and whose early success is essential to the restoration and the improvement of the material condition of our country; and to the recovery and maintenance of its moral standing, of its respectability, its purity, its integrity. (Loud applause.) Ours is

A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY

in an age of Democracy. We here, if any people, enjoy, at least in theory, what is called the reign of the common people. But the reign of the common people, that is to say, the right of the masses of mankind to govern themselves, requires on the part of those who govern, an earnest discharge of those duties, which are necessarily involved in the privileges which they enjoy. As I have said to other audiences, so I say to you: in politics as in other things, power and privilege bring with them an inevitable load of responsibility and duty, and we cannot hope to succeed in the noble task of self-government, unless each one of us, realizing this, shall do his duty in the situation which he occupies, and shall, within the sphere of his powers and influence, labour to promote the accomplishment of sound reforms in their due season. Now, in this Democratic country we have but few, and I WISH WE HAD NO EXAMPLES OF THE CLASS DISTINCTIONS OF THE OLD WORLD. I think they ought not to have been introduced. They are foreign to our soil; they are unsuited to our habits; they are relics of old times now past; they are not given under the advice of our own leaders of opinion; and I wish it might become part of our unwritten code, that these exotic distinctions should not be by us received. (Cheers.) Yet, sir, I am a believer in a certain, and in a real sense, in the principle of aristocracy. I believe in the true aristocracy of energy, learning, ability, and integrity; an aristocracy whose marks and titles are found in the earnest efforts of a man to do his duty and to excel in its discharge; and whose distinctions are such as a free people themselves confer by the expression of their confi-

dence, by mandates to the great council of the country, by selection for high offices of public trust, by the commission to regulate the affairs, to guide the high destinies of the people among whom they live. (Applause.) THAT IS THE ARISTOCRACY AND THE ONLY ARISTOCRACY WHICH IS SUITED TO OUR DAY AND COUNTRY. Now, Mr. Chairman, you will find it, I think, not unreasonable upon an occasion like this, promoted by the Young Men's Liberal Club, that I should make some reference to the more especial

FUNCTIONS DEVOLVING ON THE YOUNG LIBERALS

in the promotion of the Liberal interests. I am not myself a believer in any class distinctions between a young and an old Liberal. I hope there are senses in which the longer a man is a Liberal the better Liberal he is. (Hear, hear.) But I know there is a tendency, a natural tendency, on the part of Liberals who have lived so long and been so fortunate in their career as to have seen the accomplishment of what was in early days the ultimate limit of their hopes, to believe that the accomplishment of those hopes has for them pretty well settled the question of Liberalism and Reform, there is a disposition to rest content with the realization of the aims for which they have laboured so long and looked so earnestly. But, Sir, this will not do. We must keep our eyes lifted up; we must remember that we are climbing the hill-tops of time; we must perceive that, as we mount higher, fresh horizons and new prospects are opening before us; we must realize that "new occasions bring new duties;" we must strive to help forward that which, unattainable before, may yet be now attained. In this effort we may be helped by the Young Liberals, who have not yet seen the realization or even the near approach of their patriotic hopes, but who in the freshness of life look to and brace themselves for further conquests. Let me remind them, however, that many of these problems are of a difficult character; that they require deep study of the past; substantial acquisition of the principles underlying the course of human affairs, as evidenced by that past; and thorough sifting and full discussion before finally reaching conclusions. That process is the only way to reach right conclusions. Let me remind them further that it is only by degrees that the minds of the masses will receive and accept new and large proposals, and that those who undertake the work of propagandism must expect some considerable interval between the sowing of the seed and the reaping of the harvest. TO THE YOUNG LIBERALS, TOO, WE MAY LOOK, IN THE SPIRIT OF GENEROUS YOUTH, TO TAKE ENLARGED AND ELEVATED VIEWS WITH REFERENCE TO THE DUTIES OF THE POLITICIAN, leading them to abhor all clandestine and unworthy intrigues, to denounce and put down all attempts at bribery and corruption and undue and improper practices, whether at elections or in Parliament. They

have not been stimulated as yet by the undue and often criminal zeal of party to engage in those practices which were formerly so rife and which are not yet, I am sorry to say, extinct; and we may hope that, just entering upon their political career, they will take care to conduct political contests in the spirit to which I have referred. May I be allowed to say that I am well persuaded that in the discharge of those political duties, which I rejoice to see they are undertaking in a spirit so earnest and so active, they will take care not to be led away by the

DEVICES OF THE ENEMY.

Those devices are palpable and transparent. The Tory party feels that the issues present and pressing upon us, issues which arise very largely out of the contrast between their pledges and promises and their practices and their performances, are very dangerous issues for them. They would like to blink those issues. They would like to lead us away, they constantly ask us to come away to something else and something different. They declare that the Reform party has no policy. **THE REFORM PARTY FOR THE LAST SIX YEARS DURING WHICH I HAVE HAD THE HONOUR TO LEAD IT, HAS HAD AN ALTERNATIVE POLICY WITH REFERENCE TO ALMOST EVERY IMPORTANT AND DISPUTABLE PROPOSITION BROUGHT FORWARD BY THE TORIES.** With reference to the Canadian Pacific Railway; to the system of settlement and administration of the affairs of the great North-West; to the independence of Parliament; to the relations between the Dominion and the Provinces; to the fishery and reciprocity negotiations; to the scale of expenditure; to the increase of our load of debt; to the tariff system; with reference to the plan of our taxation; to the license legislation; to the Franchise legislation; to the encroachments on Provincial Rights; and to many other questions with which the Tories have dealt in the last six years, we have shown from year to year, from session to session, not only good grounds why their propositions should not receive your assent, but also that there was a better and more excellent way to which we pointed, but in which they refused to follow us. Now, when the period arrives at which we are once again to appeal to the people, they would be very glad if the Reform party, or any portion of that party, were to put to one side as minor matters, as unconsidered trifles, as things not now to be seriously discussed, their own failures, and the respective policies of the two parties on these questions, and the melancholy contrast between their promises, professions, and pledges, and their practice and performance in these matters; their lamentable blunders, and their gross betrayals of duty; and were to say, "There is nothing to fight about in respect of these things." They would be delighted if the people of the country at large would agree with that view,

would treat these all as "dead issues," as they call them; would give them a discharge in full in respect of these sins of omission and commission, and would agree that the Tories were entitled to receive a renewal of the confidence of the people of the country, unless the Reform party should produce some other and some fresh reasons why they should be deprived of that confidence. But this will not do; they are to be tried on these questions, and on these questions they are to be condemned.

But the Reform party, besides discharging the plain and obvious duty of pointing out what was wrong in the Tory policy, and of presenting an alternative policy on these subjects, has also indicated certain important

CHANGES, IMPROVEMENT, AND REFORMS

which it believes to be practicable, in the public interest, and ripe for execution. I referred to some of these in my speech to-day; the questions of the reform of the Senate by making it elective; of the right (subject to securities for the Provinces) to amend our own constitution; of the right to make our own commercial treaties with other nations,—(cheers)—a matter of great moment as to our relations with the U. S. and other countries; of the definition, maintenance, and establishment upon a firmer basis of our local liberties and Provincial rights (renewed cheering); of extradition arrangements, and of copyright; of civil service reform, by the introduction of the principle of merit instead of patronage as the key to office; of the superannuation abuse under which \$150,000 a year net of the public moneys are being paid every year as pensions to civil servants, after paying them adequate salaries during the period of their service. (Loud cheers.) We have proposed reform also in the system of STATE AIDED AND UNDULY FORCED IMMIGRATION, under which such miserable results have been attained, under which such gross jobbery has grown and flourished, which seems to have done some harm and little good, and which has involved such a waste of money. We propose to revert to the Provincial franchises and voters' lists, as more consistent with the federal principle, simpler and more economical, more likely to give due expression in Parliament to the mind of each Province, than any Dominion franchise; but we propose, if there is to be a Dominion franchise, a more constitutional method of making the lists, and a simpler franchise. I do not wish to force my views on any other Province, but, my opinion is that

THE BEST DOMINION FRANCHISE THAT CAN BE DEvised IS RESIDENTIAL REGISTERED MANHOOD SUFFRAGE;

and I am for the principle, "One man, one vote." We propose also to restore the independence and respectability of Parliament

by rendering impossible the continuance of the shocking state of affairs partly developed last session; a state of affairs which has shocked the community and should of itself ensure the condemnation of the Government. I have not time to carry on the catalogue; I must pass to another point. There are important questions which are coming up in the near future, which are almost present and at our doors—some of which may become party questions, others which may be best dealt with otherwise. Among such questions I may name

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION,

in respect of which the Reform Government of Mr. Mackenzie did what it believed to be its duty, and undertook, at a fitting season, the responsibility of proposing a measure which was believed to be the best adapted to the public opinion of the day. At that time those interested in the temperance question pressed, and pressed earnestly on the Reform Government that it was their duty, as they had the power, to legislate. The Tory party then pressed the same view. Since that time it has appeared, as almost always happens in the train of a great statute, that whether by unhappy interpretations or diversity of meaning to which the language was fairly open, or by oversight, practical difficulties exist in the working of that Act, and for some years efforts, I regret to say abortive, have been made to procure a remedy for these practical difficulties. But the Government now in power has not undertaken the duty of introducing or even of facilitating the amendatory legislation necessary to give effect to the declared intentions of Parliament and the people, in the same manner in which the Government of Mr. Mackenzie undertook the discharge of the duty incumbent upon them when they were in office; nor, I must say, have I observed the same pressure put on the Tories which was put on the Reformers in this regard. THE QUESTION, HOWEVER, HAS ADVANCED. It has assumed still larger proportions, and in its wider phase of to-day it now presses on our minds. I hope and believe the Young Liberals will be formed very largely on the side of temperance. Again there looms up, ever nearer, the great question of our national future. And connected with this are various other questions of great magnitude. There is also THE QUESTION OF THE RELATIONS OF LABOUR TO CAPITAL, a vast subject now calling for our earnest thought. Now, as I understand it, the formation of the Liberal party here, as in Britain, is an open formation; we march in loose order with open ranks.

WE ARE THE PARTY OF PROGRESS,

and we recognize that included within our ranks are many whose

pace is different from the pace of others. Some there will always be in the party who will move at the head, the advanced guard, who see or think they see further than the rest, who project their minds into a more distant future, and look, long before the time at which it can be garnered in, for the harvest to be reaped some other day—who sow the seeds which are to produce that harvest. Then you find the main body going steadily onward, dealing mainly with those things which after due ripening have become questions of the day—problems in practical politics. Then you find an efficient and important part of the army in the rear guard, composed of those who, while alive to the true principles of Liberalism, yet rather emphasize the importance of making haste slowly, in whom caution is often the prominent element, who steady us in our course, put on the brakes and prevent us from going too fast or getting at loose ends. These, I say, form a valuable and important element in that composition which makes our party an effective instrument for accomplishing the public good, and they must not be undervalued. A party of progress which does not believe that the prime function of man is to stand still until forced to move on or move out, which believes in the spread of Liberal doctrine and the development of Liberal views, must make up its mind to find within its ranks considerable differences of opinion consistently with concurrence in the general principles, and with concurrence in the general views taken on such questions as have reached a state in which they can be worked out in practical legislation, or in agitation for that practical legislation. *I am sure, then, that we shall find our discussions and our affairs conducted upon principles of comprehension and toleration, and not of ostracism or exclusion.* So it has been in my time, and so it shall be so long as I have any power to direct the movements of the party. (Loud cheers.) I have never justified to myself or my supporters a single vote upon the ground that it was the party view. I believe our votes are to be justified to ourselves and to our own consciences—(cheers)—and, therefore, I have never asked a friend or supporter of mine in Parliament to give a single vote contrary to what, after due consideration, he believed to be his conscientious duty. (Loud applause.) I respect the man who undertakes the difficult and weakening task of giving a vote opposed to the general feeling and opinion of his party. I feel that he has done an act which is a credit to him, and that he is none the less a friend of the party because he may find himself occasionally constrained to vote some other way. (Loud cheers.) That is the spirit in which I think electors should treat their representatives, and in which we should treat our brother members of the party; and, depend upon it, so treating them, they will not forget that they have a responsibility to themselves and to you to be faithfully discharged.

Now, while such is our position, I understand it is

THE DUTY OF THE LEADER

to be, as far as possible, the leader of the whole party, and not of any section. It is a part of his duty to collect the common sense, and to ascertain what I may call the average condition of party opinion upon the public questions of the day; so far as consists with individual freedom of thought to guide, while he is himself acted on by that opinion; to take care that that average opinion so settled is effectually represented, and pressed forward in Parliament, upon the platform and by the press; and to secure as far as he can, that the party which he has the honour of conducting, retains and increases its efficiency as a powerful instrument for promoting good Government and reform in the country which he serves. Therefore his duty is entirely different from that of the independent member, who has the privilege, which I confess to you, as a leader, I have envied him more than once, of indulging in speculative discussions in reference to topics as to which the leader's duty may yet require, in the condition of party and public opinion a judicious reticence at the moment, in order to his utterance being made at the time and under the circumstances when it may be most effective. IT HAS BEEN WELL SAID THAT NO LEADER COULD SUCCEED WHO SHOULD BE CALLED ON AT ALL TIMES TO FORMULATE OPINIONS ON ALL POSSIBLE QUESTIONS. For him as for others there is a time to speak and a time to be silent. It is no secret that I had rather be freer than I am, but being as I am I accept the recognized and inevitable limitations of my position, and act as best I can within them. I believe this is the principle on which alone the party business can be conducted. (Applause.) At the same time I hold myself free sometimes to speak and act in my individual capacity; though this is a freedom to be exercised with reserve. Now I wish to call the attention of Liberals, especially Young Liberals, to the fact that there are before us many practical pressing questions—among them, and chief among them, this, whether upon the whole array of the pledges and professions, practices and performances of the men in power as compared with each other, and with those of the Liberal party, it is not a prime duty of ours to set these contrasted statements before the people, and so to ensure that diminution and loss of the public confidence on the part of our opponents which must result from such a process. Our business is to change the Government of this country, as the only effective method of procuring a change in the methods of Government and reform in the principles of Government. I have pointed out some questions with which we have to deal; one of the most important is the great question of the preservation of the

INDEPENDENCE, INTEGRITY, AND RESPECTABILITY OF THE COMMONS
HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT.

(Cheers.) To the Young Liberals we may look for zealous, energetic work to set before the public, not only before their friends and fellow-Liberals, but before all thinking men, the true principles which should affect a democracy like ours as to the relations between members of Parliament and the Executive and the public treasury. It is one of the excellencies of our country that the condition of our people is not one of very great extremes. There is amongst us, speaking in the large sense, neither poverty nor riches. You find a very few who are possessed of a great superabundance of this world's goods, but large masses—larger in proportion, I believe, than in any other country in the world—possessed of that which through their own exertions furnishes them with a respectable competence for themselves and their families while they are able to labour, and the means for a maintenance in the period of old age and infirmity. *It is important to us to be able to choose our representative men from amongst those who are not possessed of great wealth or an absolute independence.* I would be very sorry indeed if we were to establish a practical plutocracy, and to say that we must look for members of Parliament only amongst those who through their fathers or by long exertion, or through some great good fortune and success, had become wealthy men. (Applause.) I object to that view. But, while we object to that view, we must not forget the failings of human nature; we must not forget that public men so circumstanced are exposed to greater temptations than in an old and rich country, in which you find hardly a member of Parliament who is not what we would call a very wealthy man. Therefore we must set up all the more strongly and observe all the more rigidly

THE STANDARDS OF THE PUBLIC VIRTUE.

We must do so, because the temptations are greater and more obvious, and it behooves the Liberal party in particular, but the people at large also, to see that these standards are set up, and being set up, are observed. (Cheers.) *Nor is it possible that such relations as have now been established between certain members of the Commons and the Executive can be suffered to exist by the general approval of the people, without breaking down such poor guarantees for independence of thought, and for the conscientious consideration of public questions, as at present theoretically exist.* This is one of the tasks imminently pressing upon us. But consistently with all this kind of work, the Liberals who entertain views with reference to questions not yet ripe for action have not

merely the right, they have the duty laid upon them, to bring forward those views. (Loud applause.) I HAVE CLAIMED IN OLD DAYS FOR MYSELF AND MY FELLOW-LIBERALS THE GREATEST LIBERTY OF THOUGHT AND ACTION in this regard. I prefer to see those who entertain new views, even though I may not share them, bring them forward. (Applause.) Let them come into the fresh, free, open light of day, and if they have merit they will thrive and grow, and if they have not merit they will be set to one side, will wither and die. (Loud cheering.) That is the process by which we shall reach the truth, and therefore *we ought to encourage rather than disparage the discussion of the suggestions, the schemes of supposed improvement and reform, which may be brought forward, even though we differ from them.* Let us state our differences and thresh out the questions, and so reach sound conclusions. That is the true method by which we shall in the end reach union upon questions of importance which may not now be ripe for action. (Loud cheers.) But I repeat the suggestion I made a few moments ago—

WE MUST TAKE CARE NOT TO BE LED AWAY BY THE TORIES FROM
THE PRACTICAL PRESENT QUESTIONS

which show the line of demarcation between the parties, and upon which the election is to be fought, into some new issues which they are always inviting us to raise, in order that there may be some cloud of dust in which they may escape from their own record, and so, if possible, beguile the people into giving them a fresh verdict of approval. (Cheers.) In this sense, Mr. Chairman, and I believe it is no ignoble sense, I am a practical politician, because I want to deal with the practical politics before the people of this country at this day, with the issues we have before us, which are weighty enough, goodness knows, for the attention of a free people, and which some even say to me are embarrassing to deal with because they are so numerous. Let us not forget these practical present issues. (Cheers.) Give no advantage to the enemy. Let us, as we approach the period of the elections, close our ranks, advance our forces, push the enemy upon every favourable occasion from the indefensible positions which they have occupied for the last eight years, and press on those issues upon which the party is agreed, on which the party, as a party, is united, which it has made its platform of present practical reforms; and so acting and uniting, not forgetting the future, but dealing mainly with the present, which is the important thing as far as action is concerned, I believe we shall at no distant day march to a great, a glorious, and, I hope, a lasting victory. (Loud and prolonged cheering).

A PROGRESSIVE POLICY.

Reply to the Welland Young Liberals.

Response to their Promise of Active Work—The Tories' Anxiety to have their own Record Overlooked—The Parrot Cry, "Where is Your Policy"—The Liberal Programme of Reform.

At Welland Mr. BLAKE said :—I turn to the address of the Young Liberal Clubs of the county. I thank the Young Liberals for their kindness, and though I have no longer a title to be enrolled in their ranks, I yet feel a deep and earnest interest in the progress and prosperity of Young Liberalism. I am an old enough Liberal myself to have three staunch young Liberals in my household bearing my name, and on their behalf, as well as my own, I tender hearty greetings to their friends and colleagues, the Young Liberals of Welland. (Cheers.) I join in their congratulations on the condition of the Liberal party in Canada, and thank them for

THEIR PROMISE OF AID AND CO-OPERATION

to secure success in the coming contest. (Loud and prolonged applause.) They recognize, I trust, that in order to that success sacrifice is essential. They recognize, I trust, that the expenditure of time, of energy, and of labour is essential in order that they may accomplish the public good which they set before them. (Applause.) We must take care that with these new forces that are becoming day by day more and more prominent and numerous in our ranks, such an organization takes place in the Liberal party as never took place before. (Cheers.) You must take care that all legitimate efforts are made to sway to our side every neutral man, to animate with earnestness every indifferent man, and to convert all those on the other side of politics, who are not altogether blinded to the cause of justice and of truth. (Great cheering.) You must take care our organization is so complete that when the time of polling comes, every available vote shall be polled; and if you do these things, I share your hope and your expectation that amongst the signal triumphs which are to be announced at the close of polling day at the next Dominion election will be "Welland redeemed!" (Tremendous cheering.) Now I wish to say a word or two to my young friends with reference to a Tory cry raised for a long time past, and which still rings throughout the land,

“ WHERE IS YOUR POLICY ? ”

We have been expounding our policy year in and year out for a long time back. For months past I have been speaking very constantly, and in every speech I have made, I have stated one or more important political propositions forming part of the policy of the Liberal party. *But the parrot cry is repeated still ; and it will be repeated constantly, for want of a better.* (Cheers and laughter.) The Tories are very anxious to escape from criticism of their policy and their conduct, and that is one of the reasons why they are always raising this cry. (Cheers.) Talk to an audience about what they, who are entrusted with the conduct of affairs and with power to mould the policy and legislation of the country, have done, talk to an audience about what they have failed to do, talk to an audience about

THEIR PROMISES, PLEDGES, AND PREDICTIONS,

and contrast them with the sad results of their rule ; the Tories hear it all impatiently, they turn away and call out, “ Where is your policy ? ” They are—and I do not blame them for it, it is very natural—they are extremely anxious to get away from the consideration of their own record and from the question whether upon that record they ought to be approved or condemned. (Cheers.) Now, let me deal with this cry for a little. First of all let me point to you that both here and in England *the tendency has long been to confine to the Ministry of the day all the important legislation*, and it has long been found almost impossible for a private member, no matter what his ability, zeal, or energy, to carry any great measure affecting the general interests of the country. Let me remind you that that duty has been both here and in England thrown on the Government ; so that it is said in England that the duty of an Opposition is confined principally to conducting a critical examination of the affairs of the country. It has been said by a great English statesman that this is the most important duty devolving upon the members of Parliament under the present system. England has had centuries of legislation, and there is now a large body of laws in force under which that country might continue to flourish without any amendment being made to the bulk of them for some time—though some important laws of theirs, in my opinion, require early amendment. We, in Canada, have received from England, and from France to some extent, the advantage of the legislation of both those great countries ; and our affairs could be carried on, and our material progress would not be impeded if we had, as to the main body of our laws, no amendatory legislation for some time ; though here, as in

England, there are several important laws, as for example, to give one single instance, the Temperance Act, which in my opinion require early amendment. But, however this may be, in the consideration of public affairs, questions continually arise whether the Government have been wise or unwise, careful or negligent, prudent or imprudent, honest or dishonest, extravagant or economical, long-sighted or short-sighted, promise-breakers or promise-keepers; whether they have conducted the affairs of the country correctly or incorrectly in matters in regard to which an educated people keep, or ought to keep, a steady eye on the action of its representatives in Parliament. In regard to these things, ladies and gentlemen, it is

THE DUTY OF THE OPPOSITION,

a duty which the Opposition I lead has performed without factiousness but with firmness, to criticise the conduct of the Administration of the day and to strive to secure that what it does is for the best interests of the country. In a word, the normal function of an Opposition of this day is mainly critical. The Administration acts or proposes, the Opposition criticises; and on our relative attitude and performances we confidently ask your verdict. (Cheers.) But some time ago I pointed out at Owen Sound and elsewhere that *for the last six years we had not merely criticised, we had also suggested; that we had proposed an alternative policy on each of the important questions submitted*, as for instance the Canadian Pacific Railway, the tariff, the North-West, and other great affairs. I see that Mr. Thompson, the Minister of Justice, has,

WITH GREAT PAINS AND LABOUR,

constructed something which I fancy he imagines is a joke on this word alternative—(laughter)—and that he is making various meetings melancholy with this elaborate performance. I won't waste words on it. I do not think that his jokes are very laughable, but I have rather enjoyed some of his so-called facts and arguments. (Laughter.) They, indeed, are somewhat comic, and show some perhaps unconscious sense of humour, as well as some power of invention. So I hope he will dispense with these saddening efforts at premeditated merriment, and rather amuse his friends with what he calls his solid facts and his serious arguments. (Laughter.) Now, I do not deal to-day—I have done so often—with this alternative policy. I want to show you that we have not confined ourselves to criticism, or even to the suggestion of an alternative policy on Government questions. We have brought before the country large

QUESTIONS OF POLICY AND REFORM.

Let me touch on some of these very briefly. *We have advocated a reformed Senate*, small in numbers, with declared and appropriate functions, elected by and responsible to the people at large—(cheers)—*an independent Commons*, free from enervating and degrading contact with the public treasury and the public domain—(cheers)—*an enlarged and simplified franchise*, conformable in each Province to the views and circumstances of that Province, with lists made by the local authorities, and to be exercised in districts fairly divided, so as to produce a really representative assembly—*an honest and efficient Executive*, dealing with the people's business fairly, justly, promptly, and on business principles, keeping promises, redressing grievances, and so preventing rebellion in the west and discontent in the east—(cheers)—*a check to the progress of monopoly* fostered by this Government in so many aspects, in transportation, in land, in manufactures—*a reform in the Civil Service*, embracing as far as may be appointments by merit, promotions by merit, a fair day's work for a fair day's pay by a reduced and efficient staff, and *the abolition of the present superannuation system*—(applause)—the obtaining of the constitutional right to *make our own commercial arrangements* through our own responsible agents—(cheers)—*economy and retrenchment in the public expenditure*—a check to the alarming increase which has taken place, and a relief from the people's growing burdens—such a *reduction of taxation as past extravagance allows*—such a *readjustment as shall make it bear more equitably and less oppressively*—*a reduction of sectional taxes, and of taxes on prime necessities and raw materials*, and a *diminution of the injustice inflicted by the specific system* on the poor, as between them and the rich, in respect to goods of varying qualities and values—(applause)—*an earnest effort to promote reciprocal trade*—(great applause)—and to *improve the relations between us and our neighbours* on the fishery as well as on other questions—*the full and practical recognition of the federal character of our constitution*—*an end of disallowance of local laws affecting purely local matters*, and not gravely touching Dominion interests—(cheers)—no more disallowance of Streams bills—(applause)—no more attempts to seize escheats—no more efforts to pass license laws—(renewed cheering)—no more struggles to strip provinces of their lands and jurisdictions—

NO MORE SEIZING OF PROVINCIAL RAILWAYS—

no more centralization—but a *full and frank recognition of Provincial autonomy*, home rule, and our system of large local

liberties—(loud and prolonged applause)—an earnest effort to adjust prominent grievances, and to settle on fair terms the questions between the Provinces and Territories and the Dominion—justice to all, special favours to none—*fair consideration to all in respect of past railway expenditures*, and an effort to settle finally the financial relations of the provinces to Canada—*an end to jobbery and corruption*—(loud applause)—*abolition of the system of assisted immigration*—(renewed applause)—and a reduction to a small amount of the enormous expenditure under that head. Beyond all this, we press for a determination to *put down the divisive forces of race and creed*—(cheers)—for a refusal to divide upon these fatal issues—for the cultivation of the spirit of Canadian brotherhood, and Canadian nationality; and this by the observance of the great rules of eternal justice and equal rights, and of the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, and by the practice, on the part of the various majorities to be found in the several Provinces, of these principles exemplified in liberality, tolerance, and *even generosity on the part of the strong towards the weak*. (Cheers.) Again, we plead for a *continuous and sustained effort to elevate the moral condition of the people*, the creation of a condition of thought and feeling which shall forward all good causes,

THE CAUSES OF HONESTY AND UPRIGHTNESS,

of *morality and temperance*, and may in due time enable the forces of law and regulation to work in new spheres hand-in-hand with those of morality and religion for the advancement of the race. (Loud cheers.) With these objects before us, and with the black results of Tory misgovernment so plain on every hand, may we not confidently appeal to all good men, to all lovers of their country, and, above all, to the young men of Canada, to join our forces and aid in the triumph of our cause? (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE OPPOSITION.

SIR J. MACDONALD'S CRITICISMS—HIS OWN AUTHORITY.

At Oakwood Mr. BLAKE said:—At Welland, replying to the Young Liberals' address, I discussed the functions of a constitutional Opposition, as now developed. I showed that they were

largely critical; and that on the Government largely devolved the duty of legislation. I also showed that we had presented an alternative policy to that of the Government, and that we had laid before the country a large and comprehensive programme and policy of reform.

Since then Sir J. Macdonald and his Ministers have referred to and misrepresented my statement.

Sir John said at Aylmer:—

Mr. Blake had announced that it was not the duty of the Opposition to have a policy; but was it likely that the Liberal-Conservative party in Opposition in 1878, would have been in office to-day if it had accepted a dictum like that laid down by Mr. Blake? No.

At Wingham he said:—

Mr. Blake had himself announced that the Opposition ought not to have a policy—that it was simply their duty to carp and find fault.

His subordinates have followed his lead; and are raising the hue and cry against me, well trained as they are to the work.

Now,

I DID NOT SPEAK WITHOUT FULL CONSIDERATION,

nor without reference to the experience of late years, both in England and Canada. I did not speak only on inferences drawn by myself. I found my views corroborated by a high authority. In truth the views of that high authority were much stronger than mine. I could not adopt them to the full. But I conjectured that Sir John Macdonald and the Tory party would be likely to find fault with my statement, and therefore I took the recorded views of that high authority, and I made them the substratum of my speech—enlarging, to suit my own opinions, the functions of Opposition, diminishing, to suit my own opinions, the functions of Government; but still in the main agreeing with that high authority.

Now, refer if you please to what I said at Welland; and compare it with

THE LANGUAGE OF HIGH AUTHORITY,

to which I refer. This is that language:—

“Both here and in England the tendency had been to confide to the Ministry of the day all important legislation, and it had been found almost impossible for a private member, no matter what his ability might be, or what might be his zeal or industry, to carry any great measure affecting the general interests of the country. That duty had been both in England and in this country, thrown upon the Government, so that it was said in England that the duty of an Opposition was confined principally to conducting a criti-

cal examination into the administration of the affairs of the country. It had been said by a great Liberal of that country that this was the most important duty thrown upon the members of Parliament under the present system. England had had centuries of legislation, and there was now a large body of laws in force under which the country, without any amendment being made to them for a series of years, could continue to flourish. So in this country : we had received from England and from France the advantage of all the legislation of both these great countries, and the affairs of Canada could be carried on, and the material progress of the country not be impeded if we had no new legislation for several years, such had been the advantage we had gained from a long series of laws well-considered and successfully operated. But in the consideration of public affairs, questions continually arose whether the Government had been wise or unwise, prudent or imprudent, whether they had conducted the affairs of the country correctly or incorrectly in matters in regard to which an educated country kept a steady eye upon the action of its representatives in Parliament, and in regard to which it was the duty of the Opposition—a duty which the Opposition in this House would perform without factiousness, but with firmness—to criticise the conduct of the Administration of the day, and see that what it did was for the best interests of the country."

You will see that these words cover, and far more than cover, all I said ; that I was unable to go so far as the language of my high authority.

But you may say to me,

WHO IS YOUR HIGH AUTHORITY ?

What do we care for your authority ?

Well, I admit you Reformers may perhaps not pay very much deference to my authority.

But I think the Tories should—at any rate, *I think Sir John Macdonald should respect it—for my authority is himself*. No less, and no more !

He used these words in the House of Commons in 1877, after three or four years of Opposition, as descriptive of the duty of an Opposition, and of the course of the Tory Opposition to Mr. Mackenzie !

It is his own authority he has despised and ridiculed ; it is his own language he has eaten ; mine enemy hath written a book, and out of his own lips have I condemned him ! (Cheers and laughter.)

IRISH HOME RULE.

Facts about the Home Rule Resolution.

LIBERALS ALWAYS FOR SELF GOVERNMENT.

How the Resolution was defeated. How Home Rule was Lost.

Hon. Edward Blake, in the course of his speech at Guelph, urged upon the people, as he has done upon other audiences, to frown down the effort now being made to divide the population upon questions of race and creed, and deprecated in strong terms the proposal to violate the constitution by interference in the local affairs of Quebec, with intent to modify institutions subject to the exclusive control of the Province, because of the questionable suggestion that they were prejudicial to the minority in the Province. He proceeded as follows :—

The best way in which we can, if they need our help, benefit that minority, with which those of us who are English and Protestant naturally sympathize, is by setting the example of perfect fair play, tolerance, and more, even generosity, towards those minorities, French or German in nationality or Roman Catholic in religion, which subsist in our own Province. SO DOING WE CAN RAISE OUR VOICES, IF NEED SHOULD EXIST, IN FAVOUR OF THE MINORITY IN OTHER PROVINCES WITH THE MOST POWERFUL EFFECT AND WITH THE GREATEST MORAL AUTHORITY. I ask you, as I have asked other audiences, I ask you to

REMEMBER THE GOOD OLD MAXIM,

that example is better than precept. I ask you so to act in your political, your municipal, and your social relations in this regard that if there be a grievance on the part of minorities in other Provinces you may speak as Canadian citizens, as friends and neighbours, in kindly request, with that moral force which, otherwise acting, you could not exert. I do not deny, I maintain your right to extend your sympathy, to exert the force of moral suasion

in favour of any Canadian citizen of whatever Province, if circumstances call for the effort. But

DO NOT APPEAL TO COERCIVE METHODS ;

do not propose to take away the rights of the Province ; do not suggest legislative interference against its will, because if you do you work harm instead of good ; you raise a feeling of indignation and resentment on the part of those whose legislative powers are threatened—you lose your only real—the moral power of suasion, without the least hope of success by the other methods you propose. *This principle of Provincial Rights is at the very foundation of our future as a Confederation.* We must recognize a large measure of absolute local liberties as essential, as vital to the nation. I believe the people of Ontario do so ; I believe the Liberal party at any rate does so ; and I believe that is one reason why the Liberal party is in favour of the exemplification of that principle throughout the Empire and in those islands from whose people most of us are descended. (Cheers.) I observe that Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Costigan have thought fit lately to raise the question of my conduct and to attempt a defence of their own on

THE QUESTION OF HOME RULE FOR IRELAND.

Sir John Macdonald said :—

“ The difference between Mr. Costigan’s resolution and Mr. Blake’s was that the Conservatives wanted to pass a resolution which would be looked upon favourably in England and Ireland, while Mr. Blake desired to introduce a resolution which he knew would not pass, and then he would be able to appeal to the Irishmen of Canada on the ground that the Conservatives were opposed to Home Rule.”

Mr. Costigan said :—

“ No benefit whatever could accrue to Ireland or Irishmen by the resurrecting of the question. Every possible prestige which Canada could give it had already been given. . . . As far as he (Mr. Costigan) was concerned, he did not see what benefit whatever it would be to raise the question again. The motion, however, was moved by the leader of the Opposition, and was again substantially carried.”

NOW WHAT ARE THE FACTS ?

In 1882, Mr. Costigan proposed a motion in favour of Home Rule for Ireland. I supported that motion to the best of my ability, and it passed with apparent unanimity, and, at any rate by an overwhelming majority. In 1886, the question had advanced and a measure was proposed which embodied the true principle of

Home Rule ; some exception was taken to certain details, but Mr. Gladstone, who had charge of the Bill, declared that the vote in favour of the second reading was to be regarded as simply an affirmation of the principle of Home Rule, and that the measure, if read a second time, would not be further pushed that session, but that after the prorogation it would be in some particulars reconsidered, and probably amended. It was shown that thus the members and the people would have time to further consider the details, and that in the fall the House might meet and debate, with all the advantage of the intermediate time, thought, and discussion, the amended measure. I saw that

THE MOMENT WAS CRITICAL,

that enormous forces were arrayed against the principle of the bill, forces of passion and prejudice, of ignorance and privilege, of party and faction. I saw, too, that the question had reached the point so rapidly in the end, that there were honest doubts, difficulties, and misconceptions which might be removed by time. I felt that it was most important that Mr. Gladstone's hands should be strengthened from every quarter of the civilized world. I saw that other nationalities and other Provinces, and other peoples were acting. I saw them passing resolutions and making representations ; I saw that those resolutions and representations were received and answered by Mr. Gladstone ; and in a manner which showed how highly he valued, how important he felt, these testimonials of moral support, confidence, and sympathy ; and all this strengthened my view that we, too, ought to act. Time passed on. I waited for action on the part of Ministers, especially on the part of him who had before raised the question. I waited in vain. Then I saw published a cable message from Mr. Costigan to Mr. Parnell, informing the Nationalist leader that the Irishmen in the House of Commons who had voted for the resolution of 1882 favoured Home Rule for Ireland still ! (Laughter.) Well, I said, this, whatever answer Mr. Parnell's politeness may lead him to give, is

REALLY WORSE THAN NOTHING.

Did Mr. Parnell want to know that the Irishmen who had favoured Home Rule in Ireland in 1882 favoured it still ? (Great cheering.) Surely that, at any rate, might be inferred ! But it was as much as to say that those of other nationalities in the House of Commons, if their opinions were asked again, would not speak with the same voice in 1886. That was the inference ! (Loud applause.) *That was worse than nothing.* It is said now that no Parliamentary action was needed ; if so, why was the cable needed ?

But the cable was thought useful and proper. If so, would not a resolution of the Commons be useful and proper? At length I saw with regret an announcement that *Mr. Costigan had definitely declared that he would not act*. Then, and not till then, I acted. Upon the eve of the second reading of the Bill

I BROUGHT FORWARD A PROPOSAL.

That proposal was received with the suggestion that I should defer it for a few days, and in the meantime the Government would consider whether they would accept it or suggest some amendment. They said that after conference we might be able to agree upon a resolution which we could all support. I willingly acceded to this proposal, and expressed an earnest hope that by consultation we should be able to agree upon a unanimous resolution. They knew my views, but they did not communicate theirs, or offer a suggestion, or propose a conference. The time agreed upon for resuming the question came, and I brought forward my original motion, announcing that as nothing had been said upon the subject, I supposed that it was unobjectionable. THEN THEY PROPOSED AN AMENDMENT, A COLOURLESS AMENDMENT, A VAPID AMENDMENT, A WASHED-OUT AMENDMENT, WHICH WAS DESIGNED OBVIOUSLY TO DO AS LITTLE GOOD TO THE CAUSE OF HOME RULE AS POSSIBLE. (Loud cheers.) We heard the Orange Tory element in the House say so. COL. O'BRIEN, THE ORANGE TORY MEMBER FOR MUSKOKA, said:—"I don't like any of these motions or amendments, but I will vote for Mr. Costigan's amendment, because it will do the least harm"—that is, it will do least harm to the cause he favoured, the cause opposed to Home Rule. (Cheers.) I said: I will vote against it, because I WANT THE MOTION TO PASS WHICH WILL DO THE MOST GOOD TO THE CAUSE OF HOME RULE. (Renewed cheering.) The Government carried their amendment against my vote. Weak and halting as it was, when they had carried it, and it was plain that it was the best I could get, I voted for it, as better than nothing. Then I said, "This, though weak, may have some little effect, it may show that we so far countenance Home Rule, if it is sent to Mr. Gladstone, because the very message to him will exhibit some degree of sympathy with him and the cause he represents." That was proposed. What was the Government's reply? THEY SAID:—"We will agree to send it to Mr. Gladstone if you will agree to send it to Lord Salisbury as well." (Laughter.) But, I said, he has spoken only the other day in the most violent terms against Home Rule, and I quoted from some of his speeches then recently delivered. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) The language I quoted was so strong that they dropped their proposal.

THEY REFUSED TO SEND IT TO MR. GLADSTONE ;

they refused to send it to Mr. Parnell ; and in the end they determined to send it—to whom do you think they determined to send it as a means of communicating it to the House of Commons ? —to Sir Charles Tupper ! (Derisive laughter.) Now why did Mr. Costigan not move, and why, when I moved, did he not agree ? FOR FEAR OF THE TORY ORANGEMEN OF ONTARIO ! He acknowledged that his reason was that a few men were opposed to Home Rule—and you know the men. Yes ; the cowardice of one or two Conservative members calling themselves representative Irishmen, and the bigotry of a few fanatic Tory Orange members prevented the voice of Canada from being raised in favour of the principle of that great measure, a measure prompted, as I believe, by the desire for, and tending to accomplish the real unity of the Empire. (Loud and prolonged applause.) The sense in which we were believed to speak, the way in which what we said and did was understood, was shown by the disappointment of those who were the friends of Home Rule and the rejoicings of those who were its enemies. (Applause.) Those who were engaged in opposing Home Rule said it was a very good thing that my motion was defeated and that Mr. Costigan's amendment prevailed—a good thing it was for their cause, but

BAD FOR HOME RULE !

Those who were in favour of Home Rule, as for example, Mr. O'Brien, the late member for Tyrone, said that it was a cause for great regret that Mr. Costigan's amendment had carried, and that the motion I presented was lost. Yet I find Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Costigan declaring to the electors of the country that their motion was as well calculated, or better calculated, to accomplish the object in view as mine, and I find it alleged that my motives were all that was vile, while theirs were all that was excellent. (Laughter.) My fears were realized ;

THE BILL WAS LOST ;

lost by a narrow majority ; by a majority we might have helped to turn. The election was precipitated. The people were told Canada had refused its voice for Home Rule. The Government was defeated. I deeply regret the circumstances which prevented the Canadian Commons from speaking what I believe is the voice of the vast majority of the people of Canada. (Cheers.) I regret it in the interest of the Empire at large. I know not how soon or in what shape may come the issue of the struggle. But I know

that if the second reading of the Bill had been carried, the question had been adjourned and the details had been reconsidered, if there had been a few months for the people to discuss and understand the whole matter; and if after a fall session the election had been held, the result, in my judgment, would have been different from that which has actually ensued. Had sufficient time been given by that second reading, I believe the fortune of the question would have been changed, and

HOME RULE WOULD HAVE BEEN ASSURED.

(Great and prolonged cheering.) I hope and trust it will come still. (Loud applause.) I hope and trust so in the interest of the Empire at large, in the interest of the two islands, in the interest of Canada, which is so deeply concerned in the quenching of the fires of discord and alienation born out of wrong and injustice, fires which have burned so long and so fiercely and with such deplorable results on this as well as on the other side of the water, and which can be extinguished only by the establishment of a just and reasonable control by the Irish people over their local affairs. I believe the best opportunity Canada ever had, the best opportunity she ever may have, to help in the accomplishment of that great Imperial object was the opportunity I offered to the House of Commons, and which that House, by the advice of Mr. Costigan and Sir John Macdonald, Mr. Bowell and Sir Hector Langevin, unhappily declined. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

RACE AND REVENGE.

ATROCIOUS ATTEMPT TO AROUSE THE GERMANS IN CANADA—
 FIREBRAND UTTERANCES OF A SUBSIDIZED TORY ORGAN
 —MR. BLAKE APPEALS TO UNITED AND PRO-
 GRESSIVE CANADA.

Mr. Blake, at Berlin, referred to the effort to stir up race and religious prejudices for the advantage of the Conservative party. Continuing this theme, he said:—

I regret to find that here you are not exempt from other and special efforts of the same kind. While all the English are called

upon to unite against the French, while all the Protestants are called upon to unite against the Catholics, while it is charged that from an English and a Protestant point of view our institutions are being threatened by the French and the Catholics, I find that in the German paper called the *Berlin Free Press* a like course has been adopted in

APPEALING TO THE GERMANS

of Canada. And I hold the Ministerial party to be directly responsible for its utterances, by which they profit, for this among other reasons, because I understand that it owes the breath of its life to the fact that the proprietor has secured from the Dominion Government, at the instance of the Tories of Waterloo, a rich contract to print an immigration pamphlet—as a subsidy on which to found the paper. That I believe to be the basis of the *Free Press*. (Applause.) The *Free Press*, in a recent editorial article, speaks to the Germans in their own tongue as follows:—

“SHALL THE GERMANS IN CANADA ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE SHAMEFULLY TYRANIZED OVER BY THE FRENCH ?

“No people on the face of the earth are more ambitious, more aggressive, more overbearing, and more desirous of ruling over everybody than the French. This is not a mere newspaper assertion, but a well-known historical fact. Even at the present time history shudders when it relates the deeds of devastation which the French perpetrated with the most refined cruelty over a hundred years ago in the German districts of Alsace and Lorraine, yes, and in the entire country watered by the Rhine. Napoleon I. went through all the countries of Europe, burning, plundering, and murdering everywhere, until at last, on St. Helena's Island, his conquering spirit was subdued. In 1870 Napoleon III., with the most unheard of effrontery, declared war with Germany, because that nation refused to dance while France was whistling. These Frenchmen had forgotten how Germany wielded the sword in her wars of freedom. In 1870 Germany was once more called upon to bring these aggressive Frenchmen to their senses. They brought their barbarian Turks and Zouaves from the wilds of Africa, and placed them against the honourable soldiers and children of Germany ; and the lesson administered to them by Frederick the Great was repeated then. True, they were defeated, but at what price—many thousands of Germany's noblest sons saturated the soil of France with their blood, until these Frenchmen, humiliated to the dust, acknowledged they were conquered, and humbly promised to remain peaceful. This was scarcely fifteen years ago, and again these Frenchmen are howling for revenge and thirsting for blood. Everyone who is in any way familiar with history knows what Germany has had to endure at the hands of the French, who, in their aggressiveness, are ever ready to quarrel and go to war. Everyone knows how much blood has been spilled in Germany, and how much misery has been caused there through the French. Every page of history shows that for centuries past France has been Germany's greatest enemy—that the people of France bear Germany a boundless hatred, and that their only desire is to destroy and annihilate them. Such is the state of things across the ocean. But Germany does not fear France.

"A Frenchman remains the same all the world over. Everywhere he wants to be master and tyrannize over others. A Frenchman's ambition knows no bounds ; he wants the whole world to be at his feet.

"Here in Canada just now they are at their old tricks. They want everything to go as they desire it. They expect all other nationalities represented here to bow to their wishes. They want to be masters in Canada—Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Germans, must be their obedient servants, and humbly submit to all the demands of these French gentlemen.

"Now, we ask you, Germans, did you leave the Fatherland and cross the ocean to be the slaves of Quebec Frenchmen? We ask you, shall the Germans in Canada shamefully submit to be tyrannized over by the French in Canada? We say No ; with all the strength that lies within us, we say No, and we trust that this No will find an echo in every German heart in Canada."

A second article contains the following :—

"We would like to see the figure Parliament would cut if Mr. Kranz were to address the House in German. Nevertheless the Frenchmen can speak their own language in Parliament. They have acquired that right through their sheer impudence. More than that, English-Canada annually pays thousands of dollars to have all state papers and official documents printed in French as well as in English. We have yet to see the first Canadian official document printed in the German language, yet the French have everything printed in their language at the expense of the country. Why? Because they are shameless and aggressive Frenchmen. Even their children are educated in the French language at the State's expense. . . . Why should we produce more proof to show that the Quebec Frenchmen are acting as though they were living in the heart of France? They never give way to anyone. They want everybody to submit to these lordly Frenchmen."

A third article is entitled "How the Canadian Germans can assist in checking the growing aggression of the French Canadians," and from it I quote the following :—

"The contest in Haldimand is being fought over Riel. In other contests important political or economic questions are introduced, but in Haldimand it is Riel and nothing but Riel. The Frenchmen and their friends say the Conservative party should not have allowed Riel to be hung ; the Conservatives say, 'We could not do otherwise. The welfare of the country demanded his death.' The electors of Haldimand are now called upon to decide whether the Conservative party are to be defeated because they allowed Riel to be hung, or whether the Frenchmen and their friends shall be defeated and a check put to their aggressiveness. Since the Reformers have allied themselves to the Frenchmen they must accept the verdict which will be pronounced upon them. Let him who approves of this French aggression, who is satisfied to have the French rule and tyrannize over this country—yes, and over us Germans—let him, we say, vote for the Reform party. But let he who thinks that the execution of Riel was just, he who wants the French to have no more power in Canada than the English, Scotch, or Germans, he who thinks it time to check the overbearing ambition of the French, let him vote for the Conservative party.

"We write this regardless of party. But since the Reformers have allied themselves to the Frenchmen because that arch-scoundrel was hung, since they both wish to make political capital out of Riel's execution, nothing re-

mains for us Germans to do but to go with the Conservative party, to vote for the Conservative candidates and say that Riel richly merited his death and that we Germans will not submit to French domination.

“When the Reformers try to scare us Germans with Riel’s ghost and place us under the yoke of the Quebec Frenchmen, then we must look to the Conservatives for help, and keep them in power in spite of these Frenchmen. If the Frenchmen think they can rule this land, we Germans must let them know that we are here. The only thing to be considered is this:—If we want to go with Riel and the French then let us vote for the Reformers, but if we would go against Riel and the French, then let us vote for the Conservatives. We ask all the Canadian Germans in Haldimand, Welland, Waterloo, and wherever they may be, to vote against Riel and the Frenchmen and for the Conservative party. We Germans will not have French domination in Canada.”

I want the public at large to know of these articles. I declare that a more fiendish attempt to arouse long-buried animosities, and to disturb the social relations of this mixed community, and

TO DESTROY THE POSSIBILITIES OF A PEACEFUL AND HARMONIOUS PROGRESS

never has, so far as I know, occurred. (Cheers.) One of the Grecian peoples in old days made a law and decree that the trophies which were to be erected in memory of successful war should be made of wood, because that was a perishable material, and that it should be criminal for any to repair such a trophy. It was a wise and a humane provision. But in this civilized and Christian age the wrongs and bitterness of a contest waged near a century ago and 4,000 miles away are to be brought across the water and revived and reanimated to fill the minds of our peaceful, industrious, law-abiding, law-loving, loyal, contented German population with hate against a very large proportion of the people of Canada, their French fellow-citizens. (Cheers.) I can conceive of

NOTHING MORE NEFARIOUS

than this attempt. (Loud applause.) What have the Germans of Ontario, many of whom are descended from the Pennsylvania Dutch who emigrated so long ago, many of whom come from Alsace, with its varied fortunes, many of whom come from Old Germany, what, I say, have these in this new country to do with the wars and losses of near a hundred years ago in Europe?

Are they going to visit on the French of Canada, whose ancestors settled here ages before these lamentable events, the quarrels in the time of the first Napoleon or of the third Napoleon between France and Germany?

HE IS A COMMON ENEMY WHO SEEKS TO DIVIDE CANADIAN
FROM CANADIAN

on such grounds, and to arouse by such language prejudice and hate on the part of the Germans towards the French.

Is it Christian? Is it in consonance with the doctrines of the Gospel of peace, charity, and love that such an effort should be made? I denounce it as a public crime, and I call on all honest men, on all Christian men, on all good citizens, on all who value Canadian unity and the future of the land we love, to join in the reprobation of these efforts. (Loud and long continued applause.) And on you especially I call, inhabitants of Waterloo, whose historic name, though drawn from the scene of a great battle between English, French, and Germans, no longer, thank God, stirs the pulse of exultation on one side or of humiliation on the other, but is associated with peaceful and prosperous progress here—on you I call, to whom this wicked appeal has been so lately made, to show your abhorrence of the act, and to prove to its authors that you know your duty to our common country, and that, knowing, you will perform it to the full. (Great applause.)

MALTREATMENT OF THE INDIANS.

THE EFFECT OF THE STARVATION POLICY—FAMINE, DISEASE, AND
MISERY, AND DEATH—"CALLOUS AND CRUEL NEGLECT."

Mr. Blake, in his speech at Galt, said:—

"I have been amazed to see the statements made by Sir John Macdonald and others with reference to the treatment of the Indians. For years the newspapers and the Parliamentary papers have contained statements indicating the unhappy state of the Indians and the mismanagement of their affairs. For years we have called attention to these. On 15th April last Mr. M. C. Cameron, M.P., brought forward in the House of Commons many of these statements, official and otherwise, extending over a period of years from 1879 onward, tending to show instances of cruel neglect and maladministration.

On 10th June last Sir John Macdonald declared that the evidence in reply to Mr. Cameron had been obtained from the North-

West, and had then been in his hands for some days, and that this evidence, disproving the statements which he declared false, would be printed and distributed to the members of the House and to the electorate without delay. It has been further stated that a commission would be appointed to investigate the whole question of the

DEPARTMENTAL MANAGEMENT.

But there has been no publication of these exculpatory statements, which have been in Sir John Macdonald's hands for many months, nor has a commission issued to investigate into these affairs. And now Sir John has made several speeches, in which he has touched upon Indian affairs. I find that at Belleville he said, as reported in the *Mail*:—

“When the buffalo became extinct the Government could not allow the red men to starve, and although there was no treaty obligation, he, as Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, asked Parliament for a grant to feed them. Sensational reporters, in the interest of the Opposition, had gone among the Indians and asked them if they were hungry—and an Indian, by the way, is always hungry—and of course they said they were starving, not meaning, as the reporters thought, that they were in need of food, but that they were starving for tobacco, or tea, or other luxuries. Grit speakers had used these statements, and naturally he felt indignant at them.”

(Laughter.) At Winchester Springs he said:—

“I am supposed to be rather a good-hearted old man, but if you believe the attacks made on me by the Opposition press, I have starved out the whole of the Indian population of the North-West. I have gone through that country and have met the tribes, who have presented me with congratulatory messages, calling me their great father. I have charge of them as Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs. Every one of them would like to be a little better than he is to-day, no doubt, but the Indians are the most spoiled and petted people in the world. . . . Sometimes it did occur that it was impossible for the contractors to supply fresh beef, and these poor Indians had to take bacon instead. In Scotland and Ireland, and even in England, many a poor farmer had to be satisfied with bacon or meat, not every day, but perhaps two or three times a week, and yet the Government was blamed because they did not provide fresh beefsteak for the Indians every morning.” (Laughter.)

At Belleville he said:—

“The Indians of that part of the Dominion (the North-West), had not only been well treated, but they had been spoiled.”

Mr. Chapleau, in his speech at London, said:—

“Ask whether the Canadian Government has wrongly administered the North-West, and they will say that the Canadian Government has treated those territories as a good living father would treat his children. We have

treated that part of the Dominion with the utmost care. If there is any fault to be found with the Government in that regard, it is perhaps that we have shown so much solicitude for its interests."

Now, Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, the Indian question is a large one, with several branches. It includes the questions of bad appointments, of official neglect, incompetency, and tyranny, of wanton extravagance, of fraud, of unfit and inadequate supplies, of breach of agreements, of gross immorality on the part of Government officers and of starvation. I cannot deal with all these questions to-night. I must omit reference to all but one, to which I wish to call your attention. I wish to deal with the question of the

STARVATION OF THESE SPOILED, PETTED INDIANS,

whose only complaint was that they did not get their fresh beef-steak every morning, and who were hungry only for tea, tobacco, and other luxuries. (Applause.) A paper was brought down to the House last session, comprising official correspondence, not, you will observe, statements of missionaries or members of Council, or others, whose evidence we are asked to ignore, but statements of Government officials. From these reports I give you a few extracts.

W. Anderson, Indian Agent, writes from Edmonton, April, 29th, 1882:—

"From Victoria I shipped relief supplies to Whitefish Lake and Lac la Biche, as Mr. Hardisty had a few days previously reported that the Indians at those places were starving, as the catch of fish had failed, and the early frost of last year had ruined a part of their grain crop and caused the loss of many potatoes by freezing them in the ground."

Commissioner Irvine writes from Fort Walsh on 23rd Sept., 1882:—

"I have also to inform you that on my return from Qu'Appelle I found some 2,000 Indians here. They are all in a starving and wretched condition for want of clothing In the present starving condition of the Indians I fear, if no food is given them, that they may hereafter commit depredations which will bring them into collision with the force."

Inspector Norman writes from Fort Walsh on 2nd October, 1882:—

"There are at present three hundred lodges of Cree Indians camped here. These lodges average about eight souls, making a total of about 2,400 souls. They are in an utter state of destitution, and are merely existing in a semi-state of starvation."

Comptroller White telegraphs, under date of October 19th, 1882 :—

“Over two thousand Indians here almost naked and on the verge of starvation. Weather cold and snow on ground. Have been among them for two days. Am satisfied many will perish unless early assistance rendered.”

It is contended indeed that these Indians were properly starved because they had gone to Fort Walsh after being told that they would not be paid there, but on their reserves.

I DO NOT AGREE THAT THIS IS A REASON FOR STARVING THEM.

It is to be remembered that starvation inflicts the penalty on the wives and children, as well as on the man; indeed, it is mainly on the wives and children that it falls, and I confess it is repugnant to my sense of humanity to agree to a policy of starving a tribe for such a reason.

As I stated in Parliament, I do not believe in torture by famine.

But the Indian men were not so much to blame. They had been accustomed to resort to Fort Walsh. They were, I suppose, told that Fort Walsh was to be abandoned, and therefore they were to be paid elsewhere.

But Fort Walsh was not abandoned; the purpose was changed, and, Fort Walsh being retained, not unnaturally the Indians supposed they were to continue the custom. In support of this view, I quote Commissioner Dewdney's letter to Colonel Irvine, of 27th October, 1882 :—

“I think it is very unfortunate that the post at Fort Walsh had not been abandoned this summer, as agreed upon last winter in Ottawa. The Indians will not now believe that the post is to be abandoned, and we will have considerable difficulty in inducing them to leave. . . . I trust that you will recollect that over and over again you have been instructed to inform the Indians that the payments would not be made, neither would the Indians be fed, at Fort Walsh. This was done in anticipation of the post being abandoned, as agreed upon.”

Inspector Norman wrote on 1st February, 1885 :—

“I have informed Surgeon Miller that it is not in my power to increase the quantity of food to the Indians, as my instructions from the Indian Commissioner are to keep the Indians at Fort Walsh on ‘starvation allowance.’”

Dr. Edwards wrote on February 7th, 1884, and, mark you, this was with reference to Indians on their reserve, not to those away :—

“In Piapot's camp I prescribed for 35 and in the Assiniboine camp for 37 Indians, in all 72, suffering from phthisis, bronchitis, hemorrhage from the

lungs, dysentery, etc., etc., and starvation, if the last can be recorded as a disease. I find that in the last three months 13 deaths have taken place in each reserve, in all 26, a very heavy death rate; and, from all I can gather, death has been accelerated, if not immediately caused, by the

SCANT SUPPLY OF FOOD

served out to these Indians. At the present time this condition of starvation is more evident among the Crees, as the Assiniboines have lately obtained supplies for cutting wood. I saw several children in the Assiniboine camp worn and wasted, and unless properly fed must die in a few days. The old Medicine Man asked me if I could give him some medicine to have by him that would be helpful when the Indians fainted, as from their scanty rations many of them suffer in that way. It may not come within my province to report this condition of starvation, but I am well satisfied that if they were sufficiently fed there would be less tendency to illness among them. I may also add that from the way they have been allowed to starve a firm determination was expressed by both Piapot and Jack that as soon as they could travel they would forsake the reserve and go west again. . . . Of course a fatal termination is accelerated when they are not sufficiently fed."

Agent McDonald wrote from Indian Head, 20th February, 1884:—

"What the chief and a few of the leading Indians said was that the cause of their present illness was from accidents met with years back. The want of fresh meat has reduced them to a semi-state of starvation; while in their weak state they are unable to eat bacon. . . . Little Blanket, head man, knows he is dying. He knows it is not through starvation, but thinks if he had a little fresh meat, tea and sugar, he would last longer. . . . Long Lodge informed me that it was not the want of food, in the first place, that has laid prostrate several of our Indians; it was sickness, but had fresh meat, tea and sugar been issued to them while ill they would not be so low. They would have been well before this, and going about. Those who are sick are not able to eat bacon. Rabbits we cannot get, as we have no ammunition. . . . A young man from the chief's hut looks as if he was starving. I got them to take off his clothes. I must confess he looked like a skeleton, and I would have supposed the cause was the want of food, had I not seen bacon and bannocks in the hut, and the father and mother in very healthy condition. I had a piece of bannock sliced and roasted in front of the fire, and a little bacon grease spread over it. The poor lad seemed to relish it. . . . The chief . . . cannot say what the Indians who have horses will do in the spring, if not better fed than at present, and particularly when spring work commences. He fears many will move off to live on game. . . . From inquiries and what I have seen I am of the opinion that the present miserable state of some of the Indians at the Indian Head Reserve is, in the first place, through the neglect of relatives and friends, their not being properly nursed when they first fell ill; and, secondly, from the want of more nourishing or palatable food than bacon. . . . While at Piapot's he told me a young man from the Assiniboine camp called on the evening of the 14th inst., and reported that Mr. Thompson had been on their reserve and told his chief that he heard 'the Reader' say:—Never mind, there are a great many Indians yet on the earth. When spring comes we will make it sharp for the white man."

Then there are statements quoted by Mr. Cameron, covering, as I said, a period of years. From these I extract a few, only those of the officials, omitting all reference to the other important evidence.

Commissioner Irvine says, speaking of a band :—

“For a considerable time they made no demands for aid from the Government, but as the cold weather came on, being very poorly clad, and insufficiently supplied with food, they experienced much hardship from exposure and starvation.”

Mr. Herchmer, speaking of the Sioux bands, says :—

“A great deal of sickness has visited them lately, owing to the want of fresh meat.”

W. Pocklington, speaking of the Stoney Indians, says :—

“During last winter there was a great deal of distress among them for want of clothing, many of them not having a blanket to cover their nakedness.”

Commissioner McLeod says :—

“I have experienced great difficulty with the distress and suffering, applications for relief being constantly made to me by the starving bands of Indians.”

Again the Commissioner says :—

“A Stoney Mountain Indian and his family have been without food for many days.”

Superintendent Walsh, in his report says :—

“Hunger and suffering prevailed. In some places persons became so reduced as to be unable to help themselves. The want of food followed by disease caused an epidemic, which marked its results by the many graves now to be seen in Wood Mountain.”

Mr. Herchmer says in his report :—

“During the winter I visited the Pas reserves a number of times, and witnessed the actual condition of the Indians. For three months, from January to March—many of those in the Pas Birch River and Pas Mountains suffered keenly. It was impossible to supply food as it was actually needed, for there was not sufficient in the district.”

Mr. Pocklington, in his report, says :—

“In January, while visiting the Piegan reserve, I received a letter from Lieut.-Col. McLeod that 75 Stoney were in Pincher Creek in a starving condition. I started for their camp at once, and found them in reality starving, except for assistance given them by Col. McLeod and other residents.”

Mr. Wadsworth, the Superintendent, says :—

“The flour and bacon received as supplies were bad, and the flour received by the Indians at Battleford had become lumpy.”

Mr. Wadsworth, speaking of the Indians of the Sekaskoots, says :—

“I could get no account of the supplies sent in by the contractors or the Government.”

He further says :—

“The flour received by those Indians only averaged 93 pounds per sack.”

Again, speaking of Poundmaker's band, he says :—

“The flour was inferior and of light weight.”

Mr. Herchmer, in his report, says :—

“A great deal of sickness has visited them lately, owing to the want of fresh meat. The Indians under treaty received in 1884-5 \$15,290.92 worth of pork, and \$1,288.45 worth of beef, although it is known that beef is life to the Indian, while salt pork is disease and death to him.”

And again he says :—

“At Oak River, 11 men have died out of 88 heads of families, and 17 children under three years old. This is very distressing, and is hard to account for—the change of diet, owing to the failure of hunting, and scrofula, being probably the cause.”

And so, gentlemen, *year after year starvation shows its ghastly face*. And yet we are told by the First Minister, who is also Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, that the Indians have been only too well treated ; that they have been petted and spoiled ; that it was only for luxuries they craved ; and that it was only the want of the daily fresh beefsteak for breakfast of which they had to complain. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

SOME EXPLANATIONS AT ORANGEVILLE.

At Orangeville Mr. Blake, after some preliminary remarks, said :—I value the privilege of discussing public affairs before

these great gatherings of my fellow countrymen and women; and I recognize the attendant responsibility. It is my aim, as it is my duty, to state to you

THE TRUTH AS I HAVE RECEIVED IT,

to give you what, in my judgment and conscience, are accurate statements of fact, and just inferences from those statements; to lead aright, and not astray, those whom I am permitted to affect by my words. Now I take the very earliest opportunity of making reference to some criticisms which I have seen to-day on my recent speech in Galt on one branch of Sir John Macdonald's Indian policy. I pointed out that he was declaring in Ontario that the Indians in the North-West were spoiled and petted, that they were "starving" only for luxuries, as tea and tobacco, and that their complaint was that they did not get a fresh beefsteak every day for breakfast. I declared that, laying aside for the moment all other evidence, however weighty, the official papers lamentably disproved this statement, and established that numbers of the Indians had been exposed to starvation. I proceeded to the proof. The first and gravest and most detailed proofs I gave were from original documents supplied to me, and from which I gave, on my own responsibility, lengthy extracts. They dealt mainly with the condition at Fort Walsh and at Indian Head. *They of themselves amply justified my declaration.* I proceeded then to give a number of brief extracts as quoted by Mr. M. C. Cameron, M.P., in a speech he made in Parliament last session. These quotations, I informed my audience, I made from that speech, which I gave as my authority. It was ample authority. It had been made in Parliament, and though we sat for about two months afterwards the accuracy of the quotations which I drew from it was not, so far as I had observed, denied. It had been made in April last, and, so far as I had observed, the accuracy of these quotations had not been up to this time denied by the press. It had been made by

AN ABLE AND PAINSTAKING PUBLIC MAN

on whose care and thoroughness the Liberal party had, as we have to-day, implicit confidence. I am glad to notice that the *Hamilton Spectator* uses this language to me:—

There are few men in Canada who believe that you would intentionally make a statement you do not believe to be true. The *Spectator* holds that you would not do so; and that if you do make an incorrect statement through inaccurate or insufficient information, or through error of judgment, you will, on presentation of proper evidence that you are wrong, make public

correction of the error. You are a public and a busy man. You are accustomed to cover a great deal of ground in your public addresses, and it is impossible you should be able to verify for yourself every quotation you use, and every occurrence you cite.

But now it is alleged that a number of Mr. Cameron's quotations are inaccurate and untrue; some of them are alleged to be very gravely inaccurate; others, so far as I can judge, not materially so. I conjecture as to one or two cases that Mr. Cameron's own remarks must have been erroneously printed in the report of his speech as quotations. But on this, as on the rest, I am uninformed. I leave to Mr. Cameron the task which properly belongs to him, of answering these charges and vindicating the propriety of his conduct; and I believe that he will in due time satisfactorily establish or explain his position. I have neither the time, nor the right, nor the means, nor the inclination, to enter into that controversy. This being so, I feel bound to ask you to eliminate from the discussion meantime any of Mr. Cameron's quotations, whose substantial accuracy has been challenged; and *I am quite content to rest my case on the extracts made on my own responsibility*, and on the unchallenged extracts of Mr. Cameron. I grieve to say

THEY ABUNDANTLY PROVE MY POSITION,

and furnish a shocking contrast between Sir John Macdonald's Indian policy, as exemplified by the official documents, and his policy as stated in his late speeches, between the actual starving condition of many of these poor Indians, and the glowing picture of their state which he lately gave to his audiences in Ontario. (Applause.)

EFFECT OF MALADMINISTRATION AT CUT KNIFE.

USELESS MOUNTAIN GUNS.

In the course of a speech at Pembroke, dealing with North-West maladministration and the rebellion, Mr. BLAKE said:—You recollect the excitement into which we were all plunged by the war, and the solicitude with which we followed the movements of our gallant Volunteers in the field. You recollect, among other stirring incidents, the

ATTACK UPON POUNDMAKER

at Cut Knife. That was an advance by the Volunteers upon an Indian post, a movement in which the Indians had, in some respects, decided advantages. I have always held that the duty laid upon us of making ample preparations to repress an Indian rising—an ever-present possibility—included the obligation to place ourselves in a predominant position, so far as arms and munitions, and the resource of modern warfare could effect that result; and that we should demonstrate to the savage tribes our power, so as to excite a wholesome dread of our resources, thus at once doing our best to prevent a rising, and, if unhappily our efforts should be in vain, doing our best to secure a favourable issue to the rising. *In this view, when a member of the late Government, I suggested that we should procure some of the light mountain guns suitable to the country and the conditions*, so as to be ready for emergencies, and also that we should direct that at the great assemblages of the tribes for treaty payments and so forth, an opportunity should be taken by the Mounted Police to perform drill and practice with this artillery, so that the Indians might see our predominance in this respect and be wholesomely alarmed. *The guns were bought and were, I believe, used in the way proposed and with very excellent and pacific effects. At length came the time to use them in the field.* The day of Cut Knife came. Our young men were gathered together and sent forth on their dreadful errand. In that affair our main dependence was the guns. The Indians whom we were about to attack were on their own ground. They had the advantage of position. They were skilled in their own style of warfare, and they were trained to fight under cover and behind trees. Our superiority lay in the guns. We brought into action a Gatling gun and two of these 4-pounder mountain guns of the Mounted Police; and they rightly constituted the very centre of our attack, the Gatling gun in the middle with a 7-pounder on either side; and the force was marshalled on either side and behind these guns. VERY EARLY IN THE ENGAGEMENT ONE OF THE MOUNTAIN GUNS WAS DISABLED BY THE CARRIAGE BREAKING, and so it was practically out of the fight. *Not long afterwards the other gun became similarly disabled.* The troops thus lost their great advantage; it became advisable to retire, and they did retire, having been exposed, both in the fight and in the retreat, to danger and loss, and having failed to reap the expected advantage through the failure of the guns. Let me prove my statement by an authority which I suppose my Tory friends will still respect a little. Here is the account given in the *Mail* of the affair:—

“Col. Otter had intended advancing right in upon the tepees to the front, but one of the 7-pounders was disabled by the breaking of the gun carriage, and it was not deemed advisable to push on. As a matter of fact, our small arms were not of much use, the two guns being our principal reliance. The Gatling did good work in clearing the groves and clumps, but the moment the enemy dropped down into the coulees it was of little more use than our rifles. The shrapnel of “B” Battery did most of the damage, and the disabling of one of the guns was, under such circumstances, a serious misfortune.”

Again the *Mail*, on the 19th May, publishes the following further account:—

“At last it seemed as though the ammunition of the Indians was being exhausted, and Col. Otter decided on making a rush to the tepees and burning the whole encampment. There were just two courses open to him, namely, either to withdraw his troops or make a grand rush for their camp, but here fate settled the question. The trail of one of the 7-pounders broke as the gun was discharged, rendering it, of course, useless. The other was cracked some time before, and had been strengthened by a piece of 2-inch oak, which was bolted on the lower side. But the constant firing had loosened this, and every time the gun was discharged it jumped out of the trunnion holes. In fact, it was a race between the gun and the gunners. The former jumped back every time it was discharged, and the latter had to follow it and carry it back to its place again. It would have been folly to attempt to destroy the tepees without the guns, and so Col. Otter decided on withdrawing.”

Now, gentlemen, that is the statement. I think I have proved to you the importance of the guns, that they were our main dependence, that

WE FAILED OF VICTORY,

were forced to retire, and ran serious risks of grave disaster by reason of these failures. But some Conservative may say: “What? Do you mean to blame the Government, the people at Ottawa, so far away, because there was a failure in two gun carriages? That would be a most outrageous thing to do. If you could show they knew of their condition, and were responsible for it, it would be different.” Perhaps it may seem so to some, but I must say I think the Government is called, under the circumstances, to explain how it was that the carriages were in this condition, and to show that they were not to blame. My Tory friend, however, may say: “Oh! it was an inevitable misfortune; these accidents will happen even to the best regulated guns.” Well, we will see. I am not going to ask you to rest your opinion upon inference, or upon conjecture or probability, or upon the want of explanation, or upon anything else than the official reports brought down by the Ministers themselves, and

OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS

I will prove their culpability. On 1st February, 1882—mark you, this engagement took place on 5th May, 1885—on 1st February, 1882, Commissioner Irvine, of the Mounted Police, sent a report to the Minister in these words:—

“The carriages and limbers for the 7-pounder guns are fast becoming unserviceable. These carriages were constructed at Fort Walsh some years ago, under the direction of Inspector Neale. Considering the material at that officer's command, the carriages and limbers have proved most successful. I would, however, recommend that new ones be purchased, of the pattern lately approved by the Imperial authorities.”

So that, you see, the minister *knew then* that the carriages and limbers were fast becoming unserviceable, and that they should be renewed. The Indian population was discontented. No one knew when they might rise; the matter pressed, but nothing was done; the new material was not supplied, and the guns were left in their deplorable condition. A year elapsed. On 1st January, 1883, Commissioner Irvine reports again:—

“I would remind you that the carriages and limbers of the 7-pounder mountain guns are fast becoming unserviceable. I recommend that new ones be purchased, of the pattern lately approved by the Imperial authorities.”

The reminder was ineffectual. Some inquiry seems to have been made about cost, but nothing was done. Another year of risk was run.

On the 1st January, 1884, the Commissioner reported for the third time, as follows:—

“I have previously reported that the carriages and limbers of the 7-pounder guns are virtually unserviceable—”

So that it is stated now that they are virtually unserviceable, as indeed one would infer from the previous language used in the mild sense customary in speaking of a condition of a military force.

“—are virtually unserviceable, and last year I recommended that carriages and limbers of the Imperial pattern be purchased. On close inquiry it was ascertained that such purchase would have entailed a very considerable expense. Carriages and limbers suitable for our purposes can be manufactured in this country at much smaller cost than would ensue were a purchase made from England. The supply officer at headquarters has now the required material for manufacture, and I trust that next summer may find us in possession of sufficient skilled labour to make carriages and limbers in this country.”

Another year elapsed—yes, and four months of the fourth year—but, so far as we can find,

NOTHING WAS DONE.

For all this time the Minister had known that the carriages and limbers for these guns were unserviceable; he had known that the Indians might rise at any moment, yet he had not remedied the defects, and in the end he sent our gallant volunteers into action with these unserviceable carriages, creating these serious results, with all the more serious possibilities which you can perceive. On his head I place the consequences which did ensue, and the danger of the infinitely more disastrous consequences which might have ensued from one of the clearest cases of administrative incapacity and neglect it has ever been my lot to notice. That Minister is Sir John Macdonald. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) And, mark you, this is but a sample. I could proceed from one topic to another; I could take the North-West Militia management; the Indian management; the Half-breed management, in divers flagrant instances; the white settlers' management. I could go from branch to branch, from department to department, and cull instances of glaring neglect, productive of great evils. (Cheers.)

(6)

Business Principles Required in Public Administration.

DEGRADATION OF PARLIAMENTS TO TORY REGISTERING MACHINES.

ARGUMENTS OF THE HEELS.

A FEW BOODLERS.

At Kendall, Mr. BLAKE said :—I have often wished that the people would learn to look upon politics with those same eyes with which they look upon their every-day business affairs, and I think that if they did, and if they applied to politics the same practical common sense which they use when dealing with their private business, they would demand of Ministers a different method of conducting public affairs from that now followed, and different results from those now obtained. There exists amongst us, in dealing with politics, altogether too much of two things—first, a disposition to believe that politics ought to and must be handled upon other principles and by other methods than those adopted or permitted in private affairs. The next thing is—and I am not now considering whether one side is more blamable than the other, though I do not conceal from you that I think that this is so—a tendency to look at public questions entirely through the party spectacles; to judge of proposals according to the name of the man who makes them, instead of the merit of the proposal; to regard politics as an instrument for the advancement of party, instead of regarding party as only a means for the advancement of the political interests of the State. When shall the day come in which we approach the decision of a political question on its merits and with a view to reach the very truth and justice of the case? That day will be

A BRIGHT ONE FOR THE LIBERAL PARTY.

Now, in a business community like ours, where few of our representatives are able to live without engaging in some occupation, parliamentary business will be the better done the less its man-

agement conflicts with the livelihoods of the members. The great bulk of our general business is crowded into a few months of the year; and so our Parliament ought, as we Liberals have long contended, to meet very early, immediately after the New Year. Meeting early, we should get to work at once, and make substantial progress in great part of the business during the first two months of the session, instead of idling at the beginning and leaving the mass of matters to be taken up towards the close, when we feel that we must rush through it to get back to our own concerns. Government measures should be brought down early so that the members may have full time to examine and consider them, and so that you may have time to perform your part in the work of current legislation. For I have always contended that amongst a democratic people like ours the duty of the people at large in politics is not confined to the excitement of an election campaign, or to the casting of their votes. You have

A CURRENT DUTY TO PERFORM

in the interval, of watching your representatives as they deal with the public business, of forming opinions upon the measures proposed, and of indicating to your representatives the state of public opinion, and thus assisting to mould the legislation of the country. But you are now practically deprived of that right, and we of that advantage, because the measures are brought down so late, and are pressed through so fast that oftentimes before the weekly paper stating the proposals reaches your homes, before you have digested the measure, before you have formed opinions, before you have had a chance of communicating your opinions to your representatives, the measure has passed practically beyond recall. The present methods also lead to this result, that the functions and powers of independent members are very greatly curtailed, and that Parliament is becoming more and more what it ought not to be, a simple register of the views of those who happen to be in the Ministry and to have a majority for the time being. Therefore, those who favour popular rights, who believe that Parliament should be really the expression of the best mind and maturest opinions of the people, ought to regard as truly pressing and practical this question of the conduct of the business of Parliament. If Parliament is to be a body effectually deliberating and deciding on the propriety of measures, and not a mere

MACHINE FOR REGISTERING THE OPINIONS OF A GOVERNMENT,

some change must be made. Our rules indeed provide for certain delays and stages in the passing of bills, but the mere observance

of the letter of the law in this respect is not enough. It is provided that bills shall not be passed all at one sweep. They are introduced and read the first time, and after that stage there ought to be an interval for examination and discussion, and for getting the views of those in the country who are interested. Then comes the second reading, when the principle of the measure is either affirmed or rejected; then it is referred to Committee of the Whole House, where, after a further interval, the details should be discussed; and then, after a last delay, the third reading should take place, and at all these stages it is provided that the bill shall be open for debate and discussion. But if all these stages are taken one after the other as fast as the letter of the rules permit, the form, it is true, is observed, but the substance, the purpose for which the rules were intended, is wholly disregarded. I wish you could see the way we do your business towards the end of the session. We begin in the morning when the Committees of the House meet, and there we remain until one or half-past one o'clock. Then in the afternoon at three the House meets, and there we remain until perhaps three or four, sometimes five or six, in the morning, and we are back again at ten to the work of the committees, and so we go at the rate of a hunt instead of having time to consider and discuss the great public questions which come before us. That is not the way to reach sound conclusions, or to learn or express the matured opinion of the country. We pass bills with great speed and without due consideration, and the consequence is that we spend much time in

AMENDING AND PATCHING THE BILLS

of previous sessions. Our mistakes are not found out until the law comes to be practically applied, and when these mistakes are found out we go to work in the same hurried fashion to try to amend them, and so on from session to session. Let me give you one very striking instance of the rate at which we vote the money to be placed at the disposal of the Government out of the public resources. The stage at which we get the final explanations, formulate objections, move amendments, and take the sense of the House is called concurrence. Well, last session we took concurrence in somewhere about \$33,000,000 of money in an hour and a half, or at the rate of over \$1,000 a second. One of my friends was audacious enough to interpose an objection respecting some particular vote. He spoke for perhaps a minute, and he was immediately met with

HOWLS FROM THE OTHER SIDE

of the House, and by the declaration that he was obstructing the business and wasting the time of Parliament. That is a course of

public business which I regard as in the highest degree unsatisfactory. If the case were wholly exceptional I would not trouble you with it, but the difficulty is, as I say, a growing one, and unless the attention of the people is directed to it, and unless both sides agree to bring pressure to bear upon the leaders of the House to call Parliament together early, and to have the business ready early and brought down and proceeded with in good time, these evils will continue and grow worse, if worse be possible. (Applause.) If you could pay us that visit which I proposed, you who sympathize with the views of the Opposition would see partly how it is that in spite of the weight of reason and the force of argument, we are yet beaten in the vote. You would see that our arguments are too often met with counter

ARGUMENTS OF THE HEELS,

and not of the head, that our voices are drowned by the scraping of desks and other noises, and so the vote is taken. I am sure that many of you who are opposed to us, could you see how affairs are conducted at Ottawa, would come away with other politics. (Applause.)

After referring to other matters, Mr. Blake spoke briefly respecting the

INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT,

as affected by grants to railways in which members of Parliament were interested. He proceeded:—

I have already given some instances. There is another instance which I have not detailed elsewhere, the facts of which came to my knowledge only recently. The charter for the Ottawa, Washington and New York Railway Company was obtained by a gentleman (not in Parliament) named Keefer, who was the chief promoter and mainspring of the enterprise. It is the fashion to give value to these charters by securing public subsidies. In order to give value to this charter a public subsidy was felt to be necessary. Dr. Hickey, the member for Dundas, was approached. He was given some stock; he was given a seat at the Board; he was made the President of the Company, so that they might obtain the proper power to work the Governmental machine, so as to produce a subsidy. Dr. Hickey, M.P., presenting the merits of an enterprise which boasted of his presidency,

A BONUS WAS EASILY OBTAINED.

from the Government, and voted by Parliament. By that means value was given to the charter; for the charter by itself simply gave authority to build and work the road, and if it had remained

without a bonus, those who promoted it would have had to find persons who had confidence enough in the scheme to give money or backing enough to build it. But when \$3,200 a mile was given as a free grant, of course that at once gave value to the enterprise, and was a great additional inducement to capitalists to enter upon the scheme. They got the village of Morrisburg to take \$10,000 of stock, of which \$1,000 was paid up. The company did hardly anything at all. The \$1,000 given in cash by Morrisburg would pay for all they did. But they did not expect to do any work themselves, or to build the road themselves. They simply expected to sell out the charter and the bonus at a great profit to those who would build the road. How do I show that? By stating that the President, Dr. Hickey, the member for Dundas, prepared a proposal for some New York capitalists to sell the charter in the form of contracting for construction. The very first provision of this proposal was that the company must have \$15,000 paid to the order of the President, Dr. Hickey, to pay for bonds and other honourable engagements. Generally that is not the way in which contracts are made. If you were letting a contract to build a barn or a house you would expect to pay the contractor something for the work you bound him to do, but

THESE BONUS HUNTERS AND CHARTER SELLERS

demand that the men who are to do the work shall pay them something, and so the very first provision is that the contractors shall pay them \$15,000. It would be rather interesting to know what the "honourable engagements" were. Perhaps at a later day I may communicate to you what they were, but at present I say nothing. The fourth provision is that the existing corporators must retain a majority of the board (which consists of seven) to protect their interests—(hear, hear, and laughter)—they binding themselves not to interfere with financial arrangements, or they will bind themselves to give the contractors a majority on all money outlay respecting the construction of the road and bridges. When the road is built this may lapse, if desired. Then they demand that \$50,000 shall be deposited in the bank as a guarantee of good faith, which will be forfeited to the President and Board of Directors in the name of the President, C. E. Hickey, if the conditions of the agreement are forfeited. In the seventh clause, they agree to give the contractors two-thirds of the entire stock of \$1,500,000, so that they would still retain \$500,000 of stock, the contractors getting \$1,000,000. Then they agree to give all the bonds and bonuses, together with any bonuses they may get hereafter, and the balance due on the Morrisburg stock, \$9,000. Then comes the tenth, the last provision, which is like unto the

first. They want a liberal bonus in bonds of the first issue or cash for the seven promoters of the road for labour expended and good will. (Laughter.) The labour expended was

MAINLY IN GETTING A SUBSIDY

to be paid out of your taxes, and the good-will is in their willingness to get more. So that they want \$15,000 in cash, \$500,000 in stock, and a liberal bonus in first mortgage bonds or cash as the price of their position. I am not now discussing the propriety of promoters of railway charters—though I confess I haven't much confidence in the breed—(laughter)—trying to make the best bargain they can. What I do object to is members of Parliament, who are called upon to say whether it is in the public interest that public money should be voted to certain railway companies, who are called on to decide on the general legislation of the country, having private interests in those companies and personal relations with the Government, which must conflict with their public duty. (Applause.) This system is altogether a grand scheme for animating with additional fervour large numbers of Government supporters by the consideration that they are to make profit by that support through the establishment of improper relations with the treasury. And as a matter of fact the result is that what we give out of your taxes to build a road is very largely diverted to line the pockets of members who become promoters of the work and who build the road or sell out the charters to others. I call on you to judge whether this sort of transaction should be allowed. (Cheers.)

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

ABUSES OF THE TORY SYSTEM—SUPERANNUATION AND FRAUDS— WHAT THE LIBERALS PROPOSE.

The following is a report of that part of Hon. EDWARD BLAKE'S speech at Hampton, which relates to Civil Service Reform:—Now, gentlemen, I said I would advert in detail to one or two points, respecting which we contend for reforms. I have referred to the

ENORMOUSLY INCREASED EXPENDITURE

for inside salaries and contingencies, and for superannuation for the Civil Service, swollen from \$930,000 in 1878 to \$1,340,000 in 1885, but that is not the only question which presses here. The

outside and inside Civil Service is now composed of several thousand persons, who are paid out of our taxes, and do our public work; the efficiency of the service is of great importance; and to the method of admission to that service the Reform party object. The system involves what is called a qualifying examination. The standard is very low. The examination may very easily be passed by a great dunce, and therefore it is no test of efficiency, and a great many do pass it. There are now, I believe, about two thousand who have passed the examination, but yet linger outside the gates of Paradise waiting to obtain entrance into the Civil Service. (Laughter.) These people are, after all, dependent for their admission upon political influence and favour, instead of merit. A vast number are waiting, from whom the Minister may choose, and he generally selects the person who is pressed most strongly upon his attention by political supporters, and not the person best fitted for the service. (Cheers.) You ask what I would propose. My idea is that we should adopt in principle the English system under which

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS

take place. The candidates, besides being required to exceed a certain qualifying minimum, are rated according to their relative proficiency in the subjects of examination. Certificates of character, conduct, and health should be, of course, required, because it is not enough that a man should pass an examination. The person who comes out first has the first chance, and he is taken into the office on probation for six months. That is perfectly fair and right, for many a man will pass an excellent examination who may be utterly unfit to fill an office. (Applause.) He may have defects of temper, conduct, habits, manner, incompatible with the proper discharge of his duty. If, at the end of the term of trial, he is found suitable, he is permanently appointed. If he fails, the next man on the examination gets his trial, and so on. Political patronage,

THE VICIOUS ELEMENT,

is thus struck out of the calculation; each man has a fair opportunity, and the person who proves his fitness gets the appointment. That is a very much more satisfactory system than the one in use with us. (Applause.) Then with reference to promotion. We ought to apply much more fully than we do the principle of

PROMOTION BY MERIT.

If you want zealous, willing, able service, you should hold out reasonable expectations that such service will secure promotions

to the higher places, the prizes of the service. Unfortunately the system is growing of giving these prizes to worn-out political hacks who cannot earn an honest living. This position is held to create a "claim" upon the best places in the service, while the men who have been working there for years are to submit to the interloper being thrust over their heads, and their chance of

REWARD FOR FAITHFUL SERVICE

is diminished. (Applause.) I do not say that there should not be some discretion, in a limited class of cases, for the Government to provide for really deserving and capable men, or for the introduction of fresh blood into the headships of the service; but this discretion is systematically abused; and the plan as now administered deprives you, gentlemen, of one of the most important means of securing from the public employees good, faithful, and zealous service. Moreover, we ought to have fewer officers, and somewhat harder work for just reward. (Cheers.) I am a believer in a

FAIR DAY'S PAY FOR A FAIR DAY'S WORK.

I do not think we really economize by screwing hard-working servants down to a point at which they cannot live or have any encouragement in life; but I am a believer also in getting a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. The increase in the number of public officers at Ottawa since 1878, has been enormous. I have seen a calculation which states the increase, as nearly as can be ascertained, to be from under 600 in 1878, to 1,200 last year. Much of this increase, I believe, is unnecessary, and is due to the pernicious pressure of political influence. Fewer men, fair pay, and full service should be our aim. There is another thing we ought to mend. There is a clause under which \$50 a year of increase is authorised to those who prove deserving. But in practice every person with hardly an exception is deemed deserving. That statutory increase covers some part, and does duty for more, of the

GROSS AND ALARMING INCREASE IN THE SALARIES.

Now, a very great part of the work is of a kind which cannot justify an increasing salary. It is routine or clerical work, to a large extent merely mechanical, and in which a man may reach the maximum of efficiency in two or three years. There is no reason why, after his services have reached their maximum of value, his salary should go on increasing, though he be amply paid at the lower rate. There should be, as in other countries,

a division of the service into two classes—with for each its appropriate system. Then the extra pay business has swollen to the dimensions of abuse. You must know that clerks are employed in what they call “extra hours,” for what they call “extra work,” for which they get “extra pay.” The moment that system gains ground it is not their ordinary work, but the extra work, involving the extra pay, to which the clerks are looking. And the danger is that the

REGULAR WORK WILL BE NEGLECTED,

and the regular hours invaded in order that the extra work may be done. Besides, it is a great door for favouritism, and for illicit increases to the pay. It is astonishing how much work is called “extra.” It was stated last session that there were 81 clerks last year who received an average salary of \$1,700 a year, and who drew altogether over \$60,000 for extra services, an average of \$730 a year, making the total overage pay of each of these clerks \$2,430 a year. I am entirely opposed to that system. (Applause.) The work should, as a rule, be done, whether it be more or less, by the regular staff. But if, on an emergency, we want extra work done we should employ extra men to do it. Then there is

THE SUPERANNUATION SYSTEM.

Besides the salaries which they receive while they work for us, and which I believe are quite adequate to the work performed, we pay our civil servants pensions after they are supposed to be unable to continue working. You and I, while we are able to work, are obliged to cut our coat according to our cloth, to so arrange our expenses with reference to our earnings that we may assure some provision for a rainy day, for old age or infirmity. We are obliged to consider that time will end our days of earning power, and that for us no treasury door will open then to supply us with an income. It is well that this should so be. It leads to habits of prudence, economy, industry, and self-restraint. But the Civil Service has instead the superannuation system. Last year over \$203,000 was paid in superannuation allowances, while the payments to the fund were \$52,000, so that \$151,000 was paid out of the taxes, as against \$65,000 so paid in 1878. The increase is enormous. Let me give you an instance of the results of the system. In the House of Commons we have

TWO CLERKS AT THE TABLE.

The salary of the clerk is \$3,400, and that of his assistant \$2,400, making a total of \$5,800. But that is not all you pay, because

there is a superannuated clerk who gets \$2,379 a year, a superannuated assistant who gets \$1,543 a year, and still another superannuated assistant who gets \$400 a year—a small sum hardly worth the mentioning. (Laughter.) So the *total amount for the retired clerks is \$5,322*, which, added to the salaries of the acting clerks, makes a total of \$11,122, or nearly twice the value of the work done. (Laughter and applause.) And there are other examples I might give, in some aspects still more flagrant. And you must remember there are said to be now about

TWO THOUSAND OF THESE MEN ELIGIBLE FOR SUPERANNUATION.

I regret to say that in the exercise of the power of superannuation, great indifference to the public interest has been shown, and the public charge has been unduly increased. The Tories were horrified at its being about \$100,000 *in Mr. Mackenzie's time*. They are pleased that it is only \$200,000 *in their own!* (Laughter.) Now, I think that with due regard to existing interests, this system should be abolished. (Cheers.) But I wish to submit to you my alternative, for I admit the desirability, in the public interest, of securing some provision for the civil servants, and I'll tell you why. It is true that you and I have to provide for ourselves. We have no paternal government,

NO TENDER-HEARTED COUNTRY,

to provide for us. But it is also true that people are more liberal with other people's money than with their own. And it has been found that if the civil servant spends all his income, as most of them, I am sorry to say, do, then when they are no longer able for work and have made no savings, Ministers are too charitable and too humane and *too generous with your money* to turn them adrift penniless. So for a while they will do the work ill, and you will suffer. Then as they grow more unfit, so that they cannot do the work at all, somebody else must be appointed to do it for them; and so *you may have two servants, one to draw his pay yearly, and the other to do the work and draw his pay too*. Now,

HOW CAN THIS BE OBIATED ?

In this way. Make it the law that a certain percentage should be deducted by the Government from the salary of each civil servant, at a rate varying according to the salary, small when the salary is small, and growing as the salary grows larger, because, if a man is receiving only \$600 a year, he can't save as much out of each \$100, as if he is receiving \$1,500 a year. Place this deduction to the credit of the servant, add half-yearly interest upon it,

and interest upon the interest, because neither principal nor interest is paid out; and then when the servant resigns, or is retired, let him have the accumulated fund; or if he dies in the service, let it go to his family, for whom the present plan makes no provision. I would thus, you see, make a compulsory savings institution; I would insist, as a condition of public service, on that economy which must obtain in private employments. I would do this for the special reasons I have mentioned, and in the public interest; but it would also be for the advantage of the servants and their families, it would avoid this great public charge upon the treasury, and it would close the door to improper and needless superannuations. These are the principal features of our plan of civil service reform. I trust they commend themselves to your judgment. (Cheers.)

THE PUBLIC DEBT.

MISREPRESENTATIONS OF "POLITICAL EXIGENCIES" WHITE—NET DEBT \$1,000,000 FOR EACH ELECTORAL DISTRICT—INTEREST \$40,000 FOR EACH RIDING—PUBLIC DEBT OF \$300 FOR EACH FAMILY—ENORMOUS TAXATION AND ENORMOUS EXTRAVAGANCE.

At Galt, after dealing with the subjects of taxation, surpluses, and expenditure, Mr. Blake said:—

The question of our public debt is one of the utmost gravity. I observe that some members of the Cabinet have been remarking on some supposed statements of mine on this head. Mr. White is reported to have said at Winchester Springs:—

"Mr. Blake told you that the debt was \$75,000,000 in 1867, and that it was \$300,000,000 to-day. He should have given you the gross debt of 1867, but if he had said it had increased from \$75,000,000 to \$207,000,000 he would have been quite correct."

Mr. Foster, evidently following the same line, though with variations, said at Belleville:—

"Mr. Blake had stated that the public debt of the country was \$300,000,000, when, as a matter of fact, the gross debt on 1st July, 1885, was \$264,000,000, quite a difference from Mr. Blake's statement. Deducting \$68,000,000 of assets, the net debt of the country was really \$196,000,000."

Now, I have been either misreported by the newspapers or misquoted by the Ministers. I have not yet found an erroneous report. It is possible that I may have been misquoted. I am

less indisposed to believe that, because I remember that the gentleman who charges me with having contrasted the net debt of one year with the gross debt of another has special and peculiar notions as to the

ETHICS OF POLITICAL CONTROVERSY,

under which the making of an unfounded statement may square with his views of his duty as a politician, though if so, he perhaps is not the fittest person to attack me were his statement true. He is the same gentleman who, in the analogous and equally important and responsible capacity of a public journalist, was the subject of a charge some years ago. The *Montreal Herald* thus charged him :—

“We have heard a story that before Sir John Macdonald fell in 1873, D. A. Smith confided his want of confidence to the editor of the *Gazette*, among other gentlemen ; that after the fall, when Mr. Smith was assailed for reticence as to his intentions, the worthy editor was appealed to by Mr. Smith, and acknowledged the conversation, and stated his expectation from what he had said that the latter gentleman would vote for Mr. Mackenzie’s motion. Later on, when the *Gazette* became virulent against him, Mr. Smith upbraided the editor, and the latter admitted the facts, but stated that party exigencies urged him to the course he was pursuing, i.e., slandering Mr. Smith.”

In reply, Mr. White, in the *Gazette*, said :—

“We have simply to say that there is not a word of truth in the statement, that it is manufactured out of whole cloth. The editor of the *Gazette* never had any conversation, good, bad or indifferent, with Mr. Smith in relation to his conduct in 1873. Mr. Smith never upbraided the editor of the *Gazette*, and that gentleman never made any such admissions as are referred to.”

Upon that a letter was written by Mr. Smith to the editor of the *Herald*, and that letter contained these passages :

“The facts of the case under dispute are, in the main, as stated in the *Herald*, though I can quite understand that, in the multitude of his political affairs, Mr. White may have forgotten the conversations between us and the visit of Mr. George Stephen and myself to his office (made in consequence of reflections on my political character which appeared in the *Gazette*) and the admissions he then made. He declined to make a correction, and excused it on the ground that journalists were sometimes compelled by political exigencies to write in disregard of those considerations by which under ordinary circumstances they would be guided.

“DON. A. SMITH.

“I entirely concur in the above.

“GEORGE STEPHEN.”

Mr. White dropped the subject, and has not revived it since. Here, then, I have two great authorities for saying that Mr. White’s notion as to what

POLITICAL EXIGENCIES

may justify, and, in fact, require, is such as to make it, at any rate, possible that I have been, not misreported by the newspapers, but

misquoted by the Minister; for I frankly agree that the political exigencies of Mr. White are at this moment very serious indeed. (Laughter.) However this may be, the fact is that I never did contrast the net debt of one period with the gross debt of another. That would have been an act of flagrant dishonesty. It would have been an attempt, and a very absurd and shallow attempt, to deceive the people; it would have been an act which not even Mr. White could effectually defend any more than his own conduct in the Smith affair; it would have been an act which should prevent its perpetrator from appearing with acceptance upon any public platform afterwards. Now let me deal with

THE QUESTION OF THE DEBT.

What I have done generally is to deal with the net debt, seldom referring to the figures of the gross debt at all. You must remember, however, in dealing with the net debt that a large portion of our assets is dubious, and that were we to take a proper and strict account on the basis of the amount we may expect to realize from the assets the actual balance of debt would be much larger than it appears. However, I will take the net debt as shown by the accounts, without making any allowance for depreciation of assets. You must remember, also, in considering the future of the debt, that we have contracted large railway and other engagements, rapidly maturing, which must necessarily increase its volume within a brief period. Now, I begin with 1873. It is hardly worth while to go back further to-night. I call your attention to the fact that in 1872-73 the Government of Sir John Macdonald entered upon a policy of large expenditures for railways, canals, and other public works, to which they committed Parliament and the country, with respect to some of which they entered into positive contracts—as, for instance, with reference to the Canadian Pacific Railway—and for others of which they took votes, and began the works; and that this policy has necessarily controlled very largely the scale of public expenditure, both on income and on capital account, ever since.

THE GENERAL RESULT,

I am afraid, you will find to be not merely serious but alarming. Our net debt in 1873—I give you round numbers—was \$99,900,000. By 1878 it had risen to \$140,400,000, the increase in the five years being thus \$40,500,000, making an average yearly increase of \$8,100,000, which was expended chiefly in public works mainly, almost exclusively, engaged for as I have stated. In the second period, THE FIVE YEARS FROM 1878 TO 1883, THE NET

DEBT ROSE FROM \$140,400,000 TO \$158,500,000, AN INCREASE OF \$18,100,000. At first blush that would appear more satisfactory, but I hope you have not forgotten what a few moments ago I told you about the enormous increase of our taxation during that period. I will give you some figures on that point. The taxes were, as I have shown you, increased about 50 per cent., and from the tremendous revenue thus taken out of the people's pockets, large amounts were practically used on capital account, that is on account of great public works which according to our system are to be paid for out of loans and not out of taxation. The sums applied out of income on capital account were as follows:—In 1880, \$1,220,000; in 1881, \$5,230,000; in 1882, \$9,080,000; in 1883, \$9,370,000, in all \$24,900,000. Adding this to the increase in the public debt, \$18,100,000, you find a total expenditure on capital account of \$43,000,000, or a yearly average for the second five years of \$8,600,000, somewhat in excess of the expenditure of the first period. Taking the whole ten years, from 1873 to 1883, you find the expenditure on capital account, out of income and loans, were \$83,000,000, or an average of \$8,300,000 a year. But if you deal with the debt alone you find the increase in the ten years to be \$58,600,000, or an average of \$5,860,000 a year. These are serious figures, but they are not the worst. It is the later years that tell. Encouraged by the verdict they snatched in 1882, buoyed up by the inflation which they had themselves produced, half believing, I dare say, what they told the people, that they had secured a ten years period of unexampled prosperity to Canada, they went on rashly and wantonly, and now

NOT ONLY IS TAXATION ENORMOUS, BUT THE DEBT HAS SWOLLEN
IN THE MOST ALARMING MANNER.

The new debt rose from \$158,500,000 in 1883 to \$182,150,000 in 1884, an increase of nearly \$23,700,000 in a single year. In 1885 it rose to \$196,400,000, a further increase of about \$14,200,000 in a single year. Thus the two years 1883 and 1884 showed an increase of about \$38,000,000, or an average of about \$19,000,000 a year. Compare this with the former figures. For 1886 I can give you an estimate only, because the results are not yet published. During the session the Minister of Finance stated that the net debt was \$205,000,000. Since then it has been increased by the release of \$10,000,000 of the debt due by the Canadian Pacific. I estimate the probable addition on other accounts at \$5,000,000. This would make the present net debt \$220,000,000. It may be shown apparently a little less by carrying over some of the obligations, but that is the fairest estimate I can make of the present net debt. That would give an increase for the year of \$23,-

690,000. The total increase for the last three years would then be \$61,500,000, an average of over \$20,500,000 for each year. Thus the increase in the last three years has exceeded the increase in the whole ten years preceding, and the average for each year of the last three years is nearly four times the average for the last decade. The net debt of Canada, according to these figures, amounts to about \$1,000,000 for each of the 211 electoral districts. Interest and charges on this amount, at four per cent., would be \$40,000 a year. That you have to pay. Let the electors of South Waterloo take home these figures and understand what the minimum and apparent burden of the net debt is. As to its real burden, within a very brief space, if you allow for the depreciation of assets and for the peremptory engagements I have mentioned, the real net debt means, or will shortly mean, about

\$300 FOR EVERY HEAD OF A FAMILY

throughout Canada. I explained some time ago that the rich do not contribute to the public charge in proportion to their wealth. If, in calculating the amount of realized wealth in the country in respect to its tax-paying power, you make allowance for this fact, it would be difficult to find that the realized wealth of the country averages much, if anything, more than \$2,000 per head of a family. If this be accepted, you find that about one-seventh of the realized wealth of the family is absorbed by or pledged for the public debt. I think these are figures which should cause us to pause and to reflect, especially when we consider the promises of economy and retrenchment made by the Government, and when we remember that the longer they have been in office the more extravagant they have become, and that the last three years are so appalling in respect of taxation, expenditure, increase of debt, and deficits. (Cheers.)

THE BURDEN OF DEBT.

At Orangeville Mr. BLAKE summarized the situation, showing the rapid and alarming increase of the net debt, within the last three years especially, quoting the figures for the several periods and comparing them. He proceeded :—Messrs. White and Foster, two Ministers of the Crown, attacked me in Ontario not long since in reference to my supposed statements upon the subject of the debt. I answered them the other day. Since then they, in com-

pany with Mr. Thompson, another Minister, have been holding meetings in the Maritime Provinces, and they have dealt with this question again. Let me quote from

MR. FOSTER'S SPEECH AT HALIFAX :—

Now, just five minutes on that question. I want to ask how much is that debt. The *Morning Chronicle and Recorder* would probably say :—"The debt of the Dominion is \$300,000,000." Some of them are, cuter than others, and they will say it is nearly \$300,000,000, so that if you catch them in the exact amount they will have some little ground to save themselves. I am here to state that the gross debt of the Dominion is not anywhere near \$300,000,000, and that on the 1st of July, 1885, the gross debt of the Dominion of Canada was, in round figures, \$264,000,000. Now, there is a wide difference between the amounts, and you would think so if the difference went into your pockets—(laughter)—and you would think so all the more if it had to come out of your pockets. (Renewed laughter.) There is no need of giving your country a harder name than it might have naturally—there is no honest patriotism in trying to overload the country with an imaginary debt, because it does not help it outside. The gross debt was \$264,000,000 in July, 1885. I see some one in the audience smiling as if to say, "Yes, but that is a year ago; you have been piling it up since then." But I say that on the 30th day of September, 1885, the gross debt was greater than it was in July, 1885, by no more than \$100,000, that is to say, to-day, in round numbers the gross debt is \$264,000,000. But this is not half the truth. When you want to know the financial standing of a man you would say he owes so much, and therefore he is in a bad way, but you would say he owes so much and he owns so much, and that would show his position. Now be as honest with the country as you would be with the man. (Cheers.) Find out how much the assets of the country are and you will find that on 1st July, 1885, the assets were \$68,000,000 in round numbers. . . . Now do the next thing, and from that gross debt subtract our available assets, \$68,000,000, from the \$264,000,000, and you have remaining \$196,000,000, a long way from even nearly \$300,000,000. But if you go away with the idea that the \$196,000,000 has been rolled by the Dominion Government you are wrong. For of that \$196,000,000 the sum of \$106,000,000 was owing, and would to-day be owing by the Provinces and is simply taken from the Provinces and handled at a less rate of interest (Applause). So that if you subtract \$106,000,000 from \$190,000,000, you get the real debt rolled up for the actual purposes of the Dominion \$90,000,000. And you know that the Intercolonial Railway cost us \$30,000,000, the Canadian Pacific some \$57,000,000, and the canal system \$30,000,000. I need not refer to the other public works all over this Dominion which are used for the development of its resources, the carriage of its trade, and the building up of the country. Do you think all this is not worth the \$90,000,000 that have been rolled up?

At Truro he dealt with the debt in the same way. Now, you see

THE EFFORT IS TO PRODUCE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE PRESENT
NET DEBT IS BUT \$196,000,000.

They give you the gross debt as of 30th June, 1885, and then they say that the amount has not since increased, that it is but

\$100,000 more on 30th September last. So you are led up to the present date. Then they say they must deduct the assets in order to get the net debt. They go on to deduct \$68,000,000, being the assets as of 30th June, 1885, and then they declare that the net debt or the burden upon the country is \$196,000,000; and that, deducting Provincial debts, the increase since 1867 is but \$90,000,000, so you are designedly led to believe that the present net debt, the existing burden, is but \$196,000,000. That this is their statement is further established by the

SPEECH OF MR. THOMPSON

at St. John, who says:—

* * * The net debt which is to-day \$196,000,000, notwithstanding statements to the contrary.

And I find in the *Mail* of this morning:—

The truth of the matter is we owe \$196,000,000.

* * * * It is not surprising that the lesser politicians should magnify our liabilities, but it is surprising that a man of Mr. Blake's calibre should do so.

Now I deny the accuracy of these statements. I have not the public ledger before me as they have, but I confidently deny these statements. I charge these gentlemen with having been

GUILTY OF GREAT DISINGENUOUSNESS.

What they have done is to deduct from the gross debt of 1886 the assets of 1885, and they have told you that the result is the net debt of 1886. But if it be the fact that the gross debt of September, 1886, is only \$264,000,000, how does that happen? I will tell you. It is because within the last few months many millions of secured debt have been paid off. So if the gross debt, notwithstanding an enormous payment on account, remains at the same amount as it was in 1885, it follows that

MANY MILLIONS OF NEW DEBT

must have been contracted, else the gross debt would have been diminished. But that new debt is not represented by assets, it is an addition to the net debt; and thus while the gross debt remains, the assets have diminished, and the net debt has increased. (Applause.) Again, within the last few months \$10,000,000 more of debt, against which we held the obligation of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which was secured debt, has become unsecured by the release of that obligation and our retention of

public lands in lieu of it. *This surrender involves a practical increase of the net debt.* I am convinced that it is wholly incorrect to say our net debt is but \$196,000,000. I challenge the Ministers to give us the statement from the books of the net debt of Canada, as of 30th June, 1886. I challenge them to give us the statement from the books of the net debt as of 30th September, 1886. (Loud applause.) They have given us the gross debt of that date from the books, but I fear they are trying to mislead us as to the net debt. I am convinced that when the statement is obtained and sifted it will be found that the net debt far exceeds the \$196,000,000, which they would have you to adopt, and is about \$220,000,000 as I stated to you. (Applause.)

OUR BURDEN OF DEBT.

A Challenge to the Ministers—An Increase of \$62,000,000 in Three Years—Forty Thousand a Year Extracted from each Constituency.

Mr. BLAKE, speaking at Belleville, said :—I stated my belief to be—for it is a matter of estimate until the Ministers who, at this moment, hold closed the public ledger, shall choose to open it and to divulge the exact figures—that the

NET DEBT ON 30TH JUNE LAST

and since was \$220,000,000, or thereabouts. Since that statement I have seen in several speeches delivered by Ministers who have been travelling through the country together, enlightening the people, statements of the public debt. I have seen statements made by Mr. Foster, by Mr. Thompson, by Mr. White, some of which directly announced, and others as directly led up to and implied the proposition that the present net debt is about \$196,000,000 only, being the same amount as of 1st July, 1885. Some of these statements I quoted a little while ago. I challenged their accuracy. I challenged the Ministers to state from the public books, which they hold closed, the net debt as at the 30th June last, and the net debt as at the 30th September last, and I repeated my estimate of about \$220,000,000. (Applause.) Since that time some of these gentlemen have spoken, but no response

has been made to that challenge. I find them now a little more guarded. Their utterances, with reference to the net debt of late have more specifically confined their announcement to its condition on 30th June, 1885. But what we have to deal with is not the remote past, not even the more recent past, but the present condition of the country as near as it can be given, and

THEREFORE I REPEAT MY CHALLENGE.

(Applause.) I repeat my call here and now before you to these gentlemen not to lower themselves as they did a while ago by telling the amount of the gross debt on 30th September last, and inviting you to believe they were giving you also the late statement of the net debt, but to give plainly from the public books what you want to know, the present amount of the net debt. My statement, putting it in as few words as I can, was this:—

(Mr. Blake here re-stated the position of the net debt as given by him in his former speech, and proceeded as follows:—

Now, remember, that while we have been rolling up this enormous debt the neighbouring country has been reducing its debt, so that ours now compares very unfavourably with that of the great competitor for those whom we wish to invite here—the farmers of the soil. I understand that here, as well as elsewhere, the effect of these appalling figures, for such I call them, was attempted to be broken by a statement with reference to the condition of the interest account, and it was intimated that it is not of much consequence how much the debt is—the question is

HOW MUCH INTEREST YOU HAVE GOT TO PAY.

I am not certain many of you would adopt that view in private life. (Applause.) I am not certain many of you, in estimating your individual condition, would consider simply what interest you had to pay. I hope you would remember, a little, pay day for the principal as well; that you would look at the amount of the capital of the mortgage—if a mortgage there be, as in the case of our public debt there practically is—for the capacity, power, assets, earnings, and honour of the community are pledged for the repayment of that debt, principal as well as interest. But the statement made as to the interest I entirely dispute. In the first place they take the interest account as of June, 1885. But something like a million dollars a year of new interest charge has been added in the interval, and if they would be candid enough to give you the account as it is to day, they could not give you the figures of interest which they are endeavouring to persuade you to accept. Again, they give you on what they call the *per capita*

calculation, an estimate of the population, which I dispute. I won't waste words about it. We might dispute all evening as to the number of people in the country. But I believe they

OVER-ESTIMATE THE POPULATION

by between two and three hundred thousand, and by means of that of course they reduce the amount which is to be paid by each person. Again, since they came into office they have taken a great deal of money for which they pay no interest, by appropriating a large proportion of the circulation which formerly was issued by the banks in their own notes. That may be wise or unwise, but it reduces the apparent average of interest on the whole, inasmuch as a certain amount of money is got without interest, though the result may be far from an equivalent net gain to the community. Again, they have very largely

REDUCED THE GOLD RESERVE

as compared with its standard under the more conservative management of Sir Richard Cartwright; so largely, in fact, that at one period we appeared to be in an almost critical condition, and very considerable amounts of specie were, I believe, called out by cable in order to make things straight. If you reduce the amount of the gold reserve, of course your circulation costs less for interest, and you thus reduce the general average rate of interest on your whole transactions. Then, again, on their sterling loans the discounts and charges, on a careful calculation, will be found to amount to about four and a-half millions, and this sum is really, though not nominally, added to the interest. If you issue at a discount a loan at a low rate of interest, the difference between the amount you actually receive and the nominal amount, the amount on which you pay interest, is really

AN ADDITION TO THE INTEREST

you pay. Then, again, they have put to their own credit the general reduction in the rate of interest throughout the world. Everyone knows—it is the experience of everyone who is happy enough to be a lender, and of everyone who is so unfortunate as to be obliged to borrow—that there has been a general reduction in the rate of interest all over the civilized world. This is a circumstance of which we are able to take advantage, and so the country, having this advantage, ought to be better off; but that benefit which we have obtained by our ability to borrow at a lower rate of interest has been absorbed by reason of the enormous additional loans we have made. For instance, we lately re-

newed a large loan of about \$20,000,000, which had been bearing five per cent. It was renewed at a rate of interest after considering allowances and charges of 4 1-12 per cent. This produced a saving of something like \$200,000 a year. That is all absorbed, it is all gone, with a great deal more, because so much more money has been borrowed, and so that \$200,000 has been used to pay interest on the fresh loans, of which we will have to pay the principal at a future day. I will give you

ANOTHER COMPARISON.

Ministers are extremely fond of referring to Richard Cartwright's loans and the prices he paid for money. His loan of 1876, at 4 per cent. was issued at 91, and if you allow for charges and discounts of all kinds, the money cost us nearly $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. At that time United States $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds were retailing in London at par, and I need hardly say that the retail price of such securities is always in advance of what they would realize if a large loan were being placed on the market in a block. Thus, you see that the prices of Canadian and of U. S. securities were then practically the same, as evidenced by Sir Richard Cartwright's loan. That proves that the credit of Canada at that time in the great money market of the world was abreast of the credit of the United States. (Applause.) Let us contrast this with the loan of first July, 1885. The Canadian Government sold really at 101, but allowing for certain discounts on allotments and for charges at a slight discount. United States fours were at the same time selling at 124, a price which would make the rate of interest returned to the investor only $2\frac{7}{8}$ per cent., so that we were in 1885 paying

OVER ONE-THIRD MORE THAN THE UNITED STATES

for money, while in 1876 we only paid the same rates as did the United States. No doubt in 1885 money was somewhat cheaper, even for us than in Sir Richard Cartwright's time, the general rate of interest all over the world being much lower, but we had fallen so far behind the United States in credit that we had to pay one-third more for money than that country paid, although we were abreast of them in Sir Richard Cartwright's time. (Loud applause.) Thus you see that though we have to some extent shared in the advantage of the general reduction, we have not done so by any means, as far as we might have hoped under prudent administration; and why? Because the United States have been reducing, while we have been enormously increasing the amount of our public debt. And yet these gentlemen ask you

to give them credit for their management of the debt. I repudiate their claim, and so, I think, will you. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

TAXPAYERS' BURDENS.

THE FINANCES OF THE DOMINION.

Economy under Liberal Rule — Deficits and Rapidly Increasing Debt
now going Hand in Hand—Some Startling Figures.

HON. EDWARD BLAKE, at Oakwood, speaking of the Public Debt and the deficits, said:—I observe that Mr. Thompson the other day said, referring to the Ministerial campaign, that “no one had been able to point to any statement made by one of the Ministers on the ground of its being untrue, or put before the people as misleading.”

Now, I have already exposed several of the misstatements of these gentlemen. I am sorry to say a great many more are subject to these imputations. You have heard of the man who said to one boasting of his knowledge, that it would take a large book to hold the things he did not know. (Laughter.) It would take a much shorter time to give the correct than to give the incorrect statements of these gentlemen. (Renewed laughter.) I am not going this afternoon to attempt the almost interminable task. It would take all night, but I will take up just two or three, and on one single branch of the subject, finance; and by these you may

SAMPLE THE BULK.

Mr. Foster, at Wingham, said that under Grit rule Canada had to pay 6 per cent. interest on her loans, and to-day she could obtain all the money she wanted in Europe at 4 per cent. That statement is incorrect. Under Grit rule Canada had not to pay anything like 6 per cent.—(cheers.)—and under Conservative rule Canada has not obtained her money quite as low as 4 per cent. I have here a list which shows the character and the actual cost of every loan made since Confederation. Some of these were guaranteed loans, some mixed loans, partly guaranteed and partly unguaranteed, and some wholly unguaranteed. You know that loans, the repayment of which was guaranteed by the Imperial Govern-

ment, were negotiated at a lower rate of interest for the very same reason for which a man whose credit is not of the very highest class, can obtain accommodation at a lower rate of interest if he can get one or two good neighbours to endorse his note. When we have got the British Government to endorse our bonds we have obtained the money at about the same rate of interest that Great Britain can, and therefore you must make allowances in comparison.

Now, my statement, which has been prepared by an actuary, is on the basis of considering all the charges and allowances made

IN THE CASE OF EACH LOAN,

so as to arrive at the real cost to the country, the true rate of interest we pay on each. This is the result:—In 1868 Sir John Macdonald's Government issued a mixed loan, one-fourth guaranteed, costing $4\frac{1}{8}$ per cent.

In 1873 they issued a guaranteed loan, costing 3 11-12 per cent.

In 1874 Mr. Mackenzie's Government issued an unguaranteed loan, costing $4\frac{7}{8}$ per cent.

In 1875 they issued a mixed loan, three-fifths guaranteed, costing $4\frac{1}{8}$ per cent.

In 1876 they issued an unguaranteed loan, costing $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

In 1878 they issued a mixed loan, one-half guaranteed, costing $4\frac{1}{8}$ per cent.

In 1879 Sir John Macdonald's Government issued an unguaranteed loan, costing $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

In 1884 they issued a similar loan, costing 4 7-30 per cent.

In 1885 they issued a similar loan, costing 4 1-10 per cent.

In 1885 they renewed an old loan, at a cost of 4 1-12 per cent.

Thus you will see how far from correct was the statement of Mr. Foster. The Grits never paid anything approaching 6 per cent. for their loans, while the real cost of the lowest loans effected by the Tories was in truth somewhat over 4 per cent. But I quite admit that there has been a progressive, though far from rapid, diminution in the rate of interest on our loans. To what is that due? Those of you who have borrowed—no! of course none of you have borrowed, but each of you knows a neighbour who has borrowed—(laughter)—and from his experience—(laughter)—you know that the rate of interest is greatly lower than it formerly was. It is lower all over the world, and why should not Canada get the benefit of the reduction, like the the rest of the world? But this Government, just as they have claimed credit for all the gifts of a kind Providence, have declared that this lowering of interest was all their doing. They

claim credit for all those benefits which they did not give the country.

THEY DENY RESPONSIBILITY

for all the calamities which they did bring upon the country. (Cheers.) But I am sorry to say we have not benefited from the lowered rate, like our neighbours. We have not benefited as we ought. I have shown elsewhere that in Sir R. Cartwright's time our credit was abreast of that of the United States; while Sir Leonard Tilley's large loan was issued at a cost which showed that, relatively, we had fallen behind, and that United States securities were at that later date worth far more than ours. Thus we have not had the full benefit of the general reduction. We have ground for complaint, and not for compliment. (Cheers.) How is it? Do you know why? The reason is largely to be found in the facts I am about to bring before you. While the United States have been clearing off their debt, we have been rolling up ours. If you will apply the lessons of your private life—or, rather, your neighbour's private life—(laughter)—you will see how surely this result must follow from this course. The more his debts roll up year after year, the worse his credit, and the higher, compared to the general current rates, are the rates he has to pay for money; while, if he is forehanded, if he is reducing his liabilities, and if he wants to borrow money to pay off some of his old debts, having reduced his total, he can borrow on the best current terms. So it has been with the United States. In 1865 the United States debt was \$391 per head of a family, counting five to a family, and for interest \$21.45. In 1886 the United States debt was \$120.70 per head of a family, or less than one-third; and for interest \$4.15, or less than one-fifth of the earlier charge. A sad contrast to our figures, even after making, as you should, some allowance for the largeness of State as compared with Provincial debts. Next, I wish to refer to a question partly of fact, partly of estimate. You know we were troubled in the days of Mr. Mackenzie with what used to cause not merely the rage and indignation, but also the sighs and tears of the Tories—(laughter)—they mourned over

THE DEFICITS,

and would not be comforted. (Laughter.) One would have supposed, from the long faces they drew, that they expected to have to pay these deficits out of their own pockets. (Renewed laughter.) But since enormous deficits have occurred under their own administration, they bear them with admirable patience, and even with great complacency. (Laughter.) They had a deficit in the year

before last of about two and a quarter millions. Last year the deficit was about \$5,900,000, or, in the two years, \$8,100,000. Now, Mr. White has complained that when I spoke of these deficits I forgot to tell the people that they were wholly due to the extraordinary expenditure caused by the rebellion. I did not forget; I abstained on purpose, and for a reason which may appear to Mr. White trifling and inadequate. I did not say so, only because it was not true. (Laughter.) That is all the poor excuse I have to offer. (Renewed laughter.) There was, as I told the people, a war expenditure in the two years of \$5,100,000. This leaves a deficit of \$3,000,000 beyond the war debt. (Cheers.) But I must add that I regard the war debt as the most scandalous and blamable of all. (Cheers.) Again, as to the deficit of last year, Mr. Thompson, who talks with great apparent precision, said the other day that for the first four months of the current year there was already a surplus in the treasury which more than half overtook the deficit of last year; and there was every reason to believe the Government would have entirely paid off the deficit of last year, and have a moderate surplus besides, instead of there being a deficit. Now, this statement of Mr. Thompson's was disingenuous and misleading. The bulk of the expenditures were made in the fifth month, November, and at the close of that month the apparent surplus was under \$1,100,000—(cheers)—only one-third of his figure for the fourth month. Now I mark the estimate of the Minister that during this year the deficit of last year, say \$5,900,000, is to be paid off, and a moderate further surplus realized. This means a surplus for this year of at least seven millions.

I STIGMATIZE THAT STATEMENT

as utterly destructive of any claim to attention of future estimates of the Minister. I shall be well pleased if we close the year with a surplus of one million, instead of seven millions. It is, of course, impossible to make very close calculations; but this of the Minister's is absurd and ridiculous. No one who has the slightest knowledge of our affairs, or has paid the slightest attention to the course of revenue and expenditure, or the current of trade, will be found to endorse his view. I advise you to reject it wholly; and I ask you to remember what I have said next summer and to compare the results with our respective forecasts. Now, as to the amount of our net debt, I have estimated it at about 220 millions, and have repeatedly challenged the statements of the Ministers, which are calculated to lead the people to believe that our net debt is only \$196,000,000. I have challenged them to open the public ledger, and declare the debt as of 1st July last, and as of later dates. They have seen my challenges—nay, they have

heard them ; for I gave one of them in Belleville, in presence of Mr. Bowell, the Minister of Customs. (Applause.) But they continue their misleading statements. I repeat my challenge once again. I call you to note my statement, and to compare it with the facts as they will be disclosed. (Cheers.) I will give you

THE ELEMENTS OF MY ESTIMATE.

On May 1st, 1886, the Government declared the net debt to be \$205,569,263. On the same day they declared the deficit to be \$1,542,674. But on 30th June the deficit had increased by no less than \$4,322,880, involving that much addition to the net debt. Then we added \$10,189,000 to the net debt by relieving the Canadian Pacific Railway Company from so much of their secured indebtedness. These additions would make the net debt as of 1st July \$220,081,143. But there remain to be dealt with two conjectural items—conjectural, at least, for me, though these gentlemen have the figures. These items are, first, the increase during the last two months of the sinking fund, which tends, while it swells the deficit, to reduce the net debt; and, secondly, the capital expenditure for the last two months, which tends to increase the debt. I conjecture that the balance to be added to the net debt on account of these two items may be \$400,000 or \$500,000; and, if so, the net debt would be about \$220,500,000, and the addition for the year would be about \$24,000,000. Keep these figures in your minds, and compare them with the accounts. (Cheers.) Mr. Foster alleges that I made a very inaccurate statement on the subject of the burden of the debt on the heads of families. My statement at Galt was this:—

You must remember, in dealing with the net debt, that a large portion of our assets is dubious, and that were we to take a proper and strict account, on the basis of the amount we may expect to realize from the assets, the actual balance of debt would be much larger than it appears.

* * * * *

You must remember also, in considering the future of the debt, that we have contracted large railway and other engagement, rapidly maturing, which must necessarily increase its volume within a brief period.

I then estimated, apart from these considerations, the net debt at \$220,000,000. I went on to say:—

As to its real burden, within a very brief space, if you allow for the depreciation of assets and for the peremptory engagements I have mentioned, the real debt means, or will shortly mean, \$300 for every head of a family.

Therefore I was not then dealing with \$196,000,000, or even \$220,000,000. I was dealing with the latter sum

INCREASED BY THE ADDITIONS

I had indicated. (Applause.) Nor was I dealing, as Mr. Foster assumes, with a population of 4,700,000, or on the assumption of five to a family. I don't reckon the Western Indians as taxpayers; they only are tax consumers—(laughter)—nor do I reckon the Chinese as appreciable taxpayers. Besides, I think the population overestimated. Again, looking at the fecundity of the French, which alarms the *Mail* so much—(laughter)—I think five to a family rather under the mark. Therefore, in this estimate, I think myself right. But it is, of course, estimate only. Suppose Mr. Foster right. State the debt, as it is to be soon, at only \$220,000,000; assume the heads of families at 940,000; and even so you find a burden of \$234 per head, and for interest, at 4 per cent., \$9.36. This is bad enough in itself; and when compared with our neighbours it is worse. (Cheers.)

Now, I propose to give you a view of our financial course from another than the usual standpoint. We spend yearly large sums. They come from three sources, taxes, loans, and returns from public enterprises, etc., etc. I omit the last; and deal only with the first two; what we spend out of taxes and loans; what we pay out of our pockets as we go, and what we mortgage our estate for, to be repaid out of our pockets later, with interest meanwhile. I have here three tables, taken from the Government statistics, save for 1886, which is estimated. The first covers the five years, 1874 to 1878 inclusive, approximately Mr. Mackenzie's term; the second the next five years, 1879 to 1883, approximately Sir John Macdonald's first term; the third the three years, 1884 to 1886, approximately Sir John Macdonald's second term. Before I give you the results, let me remind you of the obvious fact that

A FINANCIAL POLICY

requires time to develop fully its effects; and that these will sometimes continue active for a season after the reversal of the policy. Thus established impulses towards, and plans for, economy, or for extravagance, are each felt for some time after the cessation of the active movement which they outlive. Therefore it is useful to look at the tendency of the expenditures in each series of years; to observe the general way in which they compare year after year, as well as the gross totals and the yearly averages. Such an examination will demonstrate very clearly the results of Mr. Mackenzie's efforts to save and of his successor's efforts to squander—(cheers)—each very successful, the last table evidencing the full development of the extravagant and ruinous policy of the Government. My first table is from 1874 to 1878:

MR. MACKENZIE'S TERM.

TABLE I.

Year.	Debt Increase.	Taxes.	Total.
1874.....	\$8,476,500	\$20,129,100	\$28,605,600
1875.....	7,683,400	20,664,800	28,348,200
1876.....	8,543,100	18,614,400	27,157,500
1877.....	8,683,700	27,697,900	26,361,600
1878.....	7,126,700	17,841,900	24,968,600
Totals.....	\$40,513,400	\$94,948,100	\$135,461,500
Averages.....	8,102,680	18,989,620	27,092,300

Now, dealing with this table, you will observe that the taxes during Mr. Mackenzie's term were ninety-five millions, or an average of nineteen millions a year, and, partly owing to diminished imports, but largely to the reduced values of merchandise, a smaller sum was collected in the latter than in the earlier part. The net debt created was forty and a half millions, or an average of \$8,100,000 a year; and it was least in his last year. The sum of taxes and debt was one hundred and thirty-five and a half millions, or an average of \$27,100,000 a year and it was steadily reduced every year, the last being \$3,700,000 less than the first. (Cheers.) Now I take my second table dealing with

SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S FIRST FIVE YEARS.

TABLE II.

	Debt, Increase or Decrease.	Taxes.	Total.
1879.....	Inc. \$2,628,100	\$18,476,600	\$21,104,700
1880.....	Inc. 9,461,400	18,479,500	27,940,900
1881.....	Inc. 2,944,100	23,942,100	26,886,200
1882.....	Dec. 1,734,100	27,549,000	25,814,900
1883.....	Inc. 4,805,000	29,269,600	34,074,600
	Inc. 17,838,600		
	Dec. 1,934,100		
Totals.....	\$18,104,500	\$117,716,800	\$135,821,300
Averages.....	3,620,900	23,543,300	27,164,000

During this term you see the taxes were \$117,700,000, or an average of \$23,540,000 a year, being an increase in taxes of \$22,-

700,000, and an average increase of \$4,540,000 a year over Mr. Mackenzie's term. This is bad enough, but the details make it worse, for during the first two years the taxes collected were only eighteen and a half millions yearly, and the whole increase and more was swept out of the people's pockets in the latter three years—1881 showing an increase over Mr. Mackenzie's average of 5 millions, 1882 of $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and 1883 of $10\frac{1}{4}$ millions, in all about 24 millions, or an average excess of 8 millions a year, wrung out of your pockets by grinding taxation. (Cheers.) The candle was thus being burned very fast at one end. I am glad to say that during this term it was not being burned so fast at the other end. The full development of the policy was not equally rapid in all its parts.

THE FRUIT RIPENED MORE QUICKLY

on the tree of debt than on the tree of taxation. For a crop from that tree we must wait for the third term. During this second term the debt increased only \$18,200,000, or an average of \$3,620,000 a year. Of this the Tories boast, but you will see that the only difference is that a large part of the expenditure on capital account, formerly provided out of loans, was now met by taxes. (Applause.) This is shown by the aggregate results. They give a total of taxes and debt of \$135,800,000, or an average of \$27,160,000 a year; a little in excess of Mr. Mackenzie's average. But mark the sad contrast in the results year by year. Whereas during Mr. Mackenzie's time the sum of the yearly taxes and debts was falling, in this term a contrary result appears. (Cheers.) The first year, 1879, was controlled by the economical impulse of Mr. Mackenzie's policy, and the aggregate was only \$21,100,000; but by the end of that year the impulse had been overcome, and the impulse towards extravagance had succeeded; so that in the last year, 1883, the sum was 34 millions, or 13 millions in excess of Mr. Mackenzie's average. (Cheers.) And now I come to

THE THIRD TERM,

the last three years, when we reach the full development of the financial policy of the Government. The signs of what was coming were not hid from all of us. We Liberals warned you in 1878, before the trees were planted, but you allowed them to be planted. We warned you in 1882, when one had borne, and the other was ripening, its bitter fruits, but you would not cut them down. Rather, you ploughed about them and manured them, and refreshed their vigour. My figures for 1886 are, of course, estimates; but I have repeatedly challenged the Government to

state the facts and to deny my estimate of the debt if they could, and they are dumb. This is the third table:—

TABLE III.

Year.	Debt increase.	Taxes.	Total.
1884.....	\$23,695,100	\$25,483,100	\$49,178,200
1885.....	14,245,800	25,384,500	39,630,300
1886 (est.)...	24,000,000	25,217,000	49,217,000
<hr/>			
Totals	\$61,940,900	\$76,084,600	\$138,025,500
Averages	20,646,900	25,361,200	46,008,100

Thus you see that the taxation for the last three years has been \$76,080,000, or an average of \$25,360,000 a year, being in excess of Mr. Mackenzie's average by \$6,360,000 a year, or one-third. (Applause.) There was thus an increase of \$19,000,000 in three years in the taxes, and in the last six years the increased taxation has been no less than forty-three millions. This again is bad enough, but again it is not the worst. Now, indeed, the candle is being burned at both ends with a vengeance. Besides paying all these taxes the debt has increased in the three years about sixty-two millions, making an average of \$20,650,000 a year as against \$8,100,000 a year in Mr. Mackenzie's time. It has grown at a rate $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as great. Had Mr. Mackenzie increased the debt at the same rate *his* account would have been 104 millions instead of $40\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

THE YEARLY CHARGE FOR INTEREST

thus created in three years has been over $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, exclusive of sinking fund. The debt of the last three years is larger than the debt of the whole ten years before. So that while you have swollen taxes you have swollen debts as well. Now, what is the general result of this burning the candle at both ends? Why, this. The sum of taxes and loans for the last three years was 137 millions; it was more than the whole five years of Mr. Mackenzie's time. (Cheers.) It averaged \$46,000,000 a year, as against his average of \$27,100,000, or an average excess of \$18,900,000 a year, and the last year is worse, as it ranges at over 49 millions, as I estimate, for one single year. (Cheers.) THESE ARE THE RESULTS OF THAT POLICY OF RETRENCHMENT PROMISED IN 1878. THIS IS THE HAPPY CONTRAST BETWEEN THE LAVISH EXTRAVAGANCE OF MR. MACKENZIE AND THE PRUDENT ECONOMY OF HIS TORY SUCCESSORS. THIS IS THE FINANCIAL POLICY WHICH THEY ASK YOU TO APPROVE AND TO APPLAUD. (Loud cheers.)

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC.

Policies of the Parties—Government Promises Unredeemed.

EXPECTATIONS UNFULFILLED.

A Hundred Millions of Expense Which Was Not to Have Been Incurred—
Not Half the Expected Immigration—Expenditure for Immigration Still Continued—Liberals Wish the Enterprise Well—The Government to Blame for Shortcomings.

At Newcastle Mr. BLAKE said :—

I desire to-night to say something to you on the subject of the Canadian Pacific Railway policy of the Government. That question is at this time, in one respect, in a new condition. The road is now open for traffic. Our controversies of the past as to the policy adopted by the Government cannot, of course, now change that policy. *The policy has been consummated*, and some of those who are now favourably disposed to our views upon the general questions, the living issues of the day, but who have supported

THE C. P. R. POLICY,

say: Why do you discuss that question now, for the affair is settled? Well, now, I am not foolish enough to insist that anybody who agrees with me on the issues which remain for actual decision should change his mind, and agree with me on the Canadian Pacific Railway policy, in order to our acting together. There is a sense, as I have pointed out, in which it is a dead issue—with regard to which we can without difficulty agree to differ. The Liberal party, including the humble individual who now addresses you, wishes and has always wished well to the enterprise, although we have differed from the Government as to the methods to be adopted for its execution. *Canada has invested too much money, and has staked its future too deeply on the enterprise*, for us to entertain any other feeling than that of anxiety for its success.

NOR HAVE WE BLAMED THE COMPANY

for securing the most favourable conditions they could squeeze out of the Government, or for having made the use they thought most advantageous to themselves of the powers which from time to time, at the request of the Government, Parliament has yielded to them. The company was one party to the bargain, and it is not contrary to the usual ideas of right and fairness that they should ask for as much as they thought they could get, or perhaps a little more. But what we have disputed is the wisdom and policy of the other party to the bargain, of the party which acted as trustee for the people, of the Government and the Ministerial majority, in adopting certain methods, yielding certain conditions, and conceding certain powers. We have condemned their policy, and we have pointed out, as their proposals were laid before us, what we believed were its mistakes, what were the errors in their arguments and calculations, and what would be the wiser, the more prudent policy in the interest of the country. And now, when we are shortly once more to submit our course to the popular judgment, we must be permitted to discuss before the people the alternative views of the two great parties on this as on other questions. We must be permitted—if we believe, as we do still believe, that the policy of the Government was rash, erroneous, and blame-worthy, and that ours was wiser, more prudent, and judicious—to present those two policies, to state the arguments on each side, and to point out how far time and events have already

VERIFIED OUR VIEWS,

and falsified those of our opponents. We cannot, then, altogether set this aside as a dead issue, in the sense of agreeing that nothing should be said about it. It was, and is, a most important question, both in a financial and in a national point of view. Now, *one of your guides, in determining upon the choice of those who are to administer your public affairs, is a consideration of the mode in which those whom you have trusted have discharged their trust.* It is the account we give of our stewardship that should largely guide you; and, if in a great public question there has been an issue between the parties, it is not merely allowable, but it is the duty of the people to consider which of the two parties appears to have been the wiser and more faithful counsellor, and to be largely guided in their decision as to how they will trust in the future by the record of the past. Before the year 1878 *the policy of both parties in this country was that the Pacific Railway should be constructed after such a fashion as should not involve any further*

increase in the rate of taxation. That policy was early defined as their own by the Conservatives, when in power, though their plans did not consist with it; and it was afterwards defined as theirs by the Reformers, and, so far as the obligations

IMPOSED ON THE COUNTRY

by the Tories allowed, it was acted upon by them. A formal resolution to this effect was added to the vote of money for the Canadian Pacific Railway by an almost unanimous House, only eight or ten voting the other way, and this clearly proves my assertion that parties were then agreed upon this policy. At this time Mr. Mackenzie's policy was sometimes criticized, not because it was slow, cautious, and niggardly, but because it was too rapid, reckless, and expensive. I will read an extract from a pamphlet which did great duty for the Tories in the election of 1878—a pamphlet of speeches and letters by Sir David Macpherson, which was distributed broadcast throughout Canada as the Tory platform, and to which the Tories largely attributed their success in 1878.

SIR DAVID MACPHERSON SAID :

But surely the whole expenditure between Lake Superior and the Red River is premature and unwise. That section of the railway will cost not less than twenty millions of dollars; the interest will be one million of dollars a year, and with the loss in working the road, which I shall not venture to estimate, will amount to an enormous sum to be borne by the taxpayers of the Dominion. I may say my own opinion has always been that we should have been content for the time to use the United States lines for our all-rail route to Manitoba, and begin our Pacific Railway at Pembina, thence at Winnipeg and on through Manitoba and the North-West, combining with its construction a comprehensive and attractive scheme of immigration, under which immigrants would be assured of employment and land—employment first and land afterwards. The lands retained by the Government in the North-West, owing to the settlement of adjoining lands, would have been enhanced in value, and their sale would have provided funds to aid in extending the railway as required, without overburdening the Dominion Exchequer. In this way the C. P. R. east of the Rocky Mountains could have been built as fast as required for very little money, and our prairie country would have become quickly peopled. A similar course, as far as adaptable to British Columbia, might have been pursued in that Province, and when the Government decided to build the road as a public work no reasonable objection could be urged against the policy. Had it been followed the Dominion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, would have been more prosperous than it is to-day. We should have been free from the heavy engagements that weigh upon us, and free, also, from the financial peril that stares us in the face—imminent if not inevitable. Our expenditure to this time upon the railway would have been comparatively small, and would increase only as might be convenient, for it would be subject to our control. As it is, the outlay in connection with the Pacific Railway, to the 30th of June, 1876, (according to the public accounts), amounts to the large sum of six million two hundred and fifty-four thousand, two hundred and eighty dollars.

There was the Tory platform of 1878. Then we come to 1880. Up to that time no person had ever proposed a larger expenditure in cash than \$30,000,000.

IN 1880 NEW PROPOSALS WERE MADE

for enormous public expenditures and very rapid construction. We opposed these proposals. Our plans were modest—some may say they were timid—I believe they were only prudent. Our plans were to complete the link between Lake Superior and Red River which Mr. Mackenzie had been pressing forward, on the ground that we ought to have as soon as possible a through summer route for immigration and transportation purposes within our own borders. We advocated also the building of the road over the prairies as fast as, or even faster than, required for settlement, and the building of branch lines as required. In the meantime we proposed to continue the exploration of the routes for the ends of the road and to complete those ends more leisurely than proposed by the Government. By so doing, we argued, they could be built more cheaply, and the North-West lands being meantime developed and enhanced in value, they might become a more substantial assistance as a basis for the contract for the construction of the expensive ends. The great object, as we conceived, was to forward the settlement of the fertile parts of the North-West territory so that you might have a backbone for the Canadian Pacific Railway. (Loud applause.) To this end we thought it very important that the road should be built upon such a financial basis as should admit the lowest possible rates of freight on produce coming out and goods going in, for one obvious difficulty to be contended against there, is the distance from tide-water. Therefore,

WE WANTED THE ROAD BUILT CHEAPLY

and the capital account kept down, so that the demand for interest and dividends might be light. The changed policy of the Government has resulted in enormous expense, which has been greatly increased by the haste in construction, and by enlarged operations, not contemplated by anybody up to a late date. Our total cash expenditure, of which almost all has been already incurred, amounts, including the assistance granted to eastern extensions, to the vast sum of \$87,000,000. We have now engaged for nearly three times the amount contemplated. That is over \$400,000 for each electoral district, or \$1,700,000 for your united countries. To meet this about \$20,000,000 have been taken by enormously increased taxation, and the public debt has been swollen to gigan-

tic proportions. And this is irrespective of the land. But the plan of the Government also resulted in the creation of a great capital stock and bonded debt in addition to the subsidies. If you issue bonds and stocks, as you know, the next thing is to see that the tolls on traffic are high enough to pay interest and dividends. Sixty-five millions of dollars of stock have been issued, realizing only twenty-nine and one-half millions of dollars to the company of which \$21,000,000 went to pay and secure dividends, leaving only 8,500,000 to go into the Road. This was because the Government, against our protests, authorized the issue of the stock at nominal prices and their appropriation to dividends, and so introduced the

VICIOUS SYSTEM OF STOCK WATERING,

which has done so much to enhance the cost of transportation and impair the value of railway securities in the United States. You know that the great effort is to force the people who use the railways to pay interest and dividends upon all these nominal securities. Besides this stock there are thirty-five millions of dollars of bonds, making a total of one hundred millions of dollars of nominal capital, apart from our subsidies. Large sums have also been expended with the sanction of the Government, by reason of the extra cost involved in the great rapidity of construction. I will give you one proof of the fact that speed means cost. There is a section in the mountains, which was estimated by the company itself and also by the Government engineer to cost just half as much again if constructed at the rapid rate proposed, as if the work were done in reasonable time. No doubt the same consideration applied in other cases, and *the Government last session admitted that the haste of construction had involved large additional cost*. Great sums have also been devoted to schemes and extensions not embraced in the original plan or even in the plan of 1880. The action of the Government has

CREATED A MONOPOLY FOR TWENTY YEARS,

which has caused deep dissatisfaction among the people most directly affected by it. It was of the last consequence that the North-West should be settled by a contented community, but instead of that we have a people in many respects discontented. So much have they felt the weight of this monopoly, and so anxious have they been to mitigate it, that within a short time the old Red River route was reopened with a view to competition, and again the people of Manitoba are earnestly at work and are charging their revenues very heavily for so young a Province in order to open the Hudson Bay route and so find relief from this mono-

poly. We cannot refuse them that relief, and I have supported their efforts to obtain it; but you will see that *the consequences of their success may be serious to us all. If that is the way for wheat to go, it is the way for manufactured goods to come*, and instead of trade connection between the West and the older Provinces, *we establish a direct trade connection between the West and Britain.* The policy of the Government was based upon solemn pledges and promises which they made to Parliament, and to the people. The first pledge was that the bargain was to be a finality. No more was to be given, no changes were to be made. They told me when I complained of the extensive character of the concessions that they were liberal, because

THEY WERE TO BE FINAL,

there was to be no coming back to Parliament for relief. But since then guarantees, loans, concessions, exchanges, grants and further powers have followed in quick succession. (Loud cheers.) There has hardly been a session of Parliament which has not seen a fresh proposition for the Canadian Pacific Railway. So much for the question of finality. Then they promised that the progress and completion of the work should result in a

VERY RAPID IMMIGRATION

into the North-West from the Old World. From their calculation it followed that allowing for the natural increase we should have had, by the year 1885, 313,000 whites at least in the North-West, and by the year 1890, 680,000. And, remember, this calculation was on the basis of ten years' time being occupied in construction, but later they halved the time, declaring that this change would result in a still more rapid flow of immigration. These promises which Sir John Macdonald made and Sir C. Tupper endorsed, are like some other political kites, with the same names as makers and endorsers, which have been discounted from time to time at the People's Bank, often renewed, but at last dishonoured, and which now lie under protest with no effects to meet them. (Cheers and laughter.) But they did not confine themselves to promises. They told us that the promises were kept. They gave us alleged figures of actual settlement. They said that in the four years from 1881 to 1884, 148,000 souls had actually settled in the North-West. On the basis of their figures *we should have had in the North-West in 1885, 250,000 whites*, but the census of the territories and our other information indicate that there were

ONLY ABOUT 125,000.

Of the people who are there, only 50,000, as far as we can conjecture, are immigrants from foreign parts. The Government told us a great immigration would be secured by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company itself, and we would be saved the large expense of settling that country. But we paid in 1884 nearly \$600,000 in promoting immigration, and in 1885, over \$500,000. (Cheers.)

The Government declared that this policy would result in the return to you of enormous sums from the sale of lands in the North-West. In 1880 Sir John Macdonald declared that \$71,300,000 would be paid or due upon lands by the year 1891, and that the expenses of survey and management being deducted, there would remain \$69,000,000 either in cash or good mortgages, and Sir Charles Tupper said that was a most moderate calculation which nobody could doubt would be more than realized. So late as the year 1883, only three years ago, the Government told us that

WE WOULD RECEIVE IN CASH \$58,000,000

between 1883 and 1891 from the North-West lands. As a matter of fact we received in gross, without any deductions, in the five years from 1880 to 1885, about \$4,000,000, and the net receipts after paying expenses of survey, administration, and head office were about \$375,000! In that calculation I do not charge against the receipts a single dollar for the Indian grants, mounted police, immigration, local government, and other charges entailed upon us by the North-West. And this is not the worst of it, because the period I have just referred to included the years of the boom, when the receipts for lands were comparatively large. Lately the receipts have not covered the expenses. In Parliament the other day, I asked these men if they would now venture to say that the net return from sales of lands in the North-West would be one-tenth part of the estimate of 1883, and they did not answer that challenge. (Applause.) When they asked you to agree to the expenditure upon the Canadian Pacific Railway they promised you in the most distinct, precise, and emphatic manner that every dollar of principal and interest should be repaid to you out of these lands.

THERE ARE THE RECORDED PLEDGES

given originally, repeated year by year afterwards, and declared to be even more than realized. I give you now a counter declaration, which I made years ago. So far from these statements being true, *I believe that not one dollar of the enormous sum of principal we*

have spent in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway will ever be realized by you out of the net proceeds, after just deductions, of the North-West lands. If we shall realize some fraction of the interest accrued up to the time of the completion of the road, that is as much as we can, as reasonable men, expect to do. And these promises, pledges, and estimates on the faith of which only you endorsed that project have so completely failed that they do not now pretend to you they are to be realized at all. Well, then, ladies and gentlemen, they said we were through this policy to derive a great benefit by the wonderfully rapid settlement and opening up of the North-West which it would produce. Sir John Macdonald stated that the settlers would take up land at a rate equal to 59 acres per head for all who went into the territory. I pointed out how absurd that estimate was. In the North-Western States and Territories the settlers had up to 1870 taken up something like 10 or 12 acres per head, and cultivated $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres per head. Sir Charles gave us

A WONDERFUL CALCULATION.

He declared that one hundred thousand farmers in the North-West would produce in one year six hundred and forty millions of bushels of wheat. (Laughter.) Oh, he said it; I heard it myself. (Renewed laughter.) I see that you practical farmers realize the foolishness of such talk. But that is the sort of story with which a majority were deluded, and persuaded to entrust with power to carry out their scheme the men who were to do such great things for us. It was promised that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company should relieve us of the charge of building branches, for that these gentlemen said the company would do that in order to realize the profits from their lands. I do not mean to say that they have not built any North-West branches, but I do mean to say that they have not done what the Government promised, and that we are now giving about ten millions acres of land in order to help on the building of branches, and a large portion of that land is going to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which has become the proprietor of some of this branch mileage, which it is thus building by the aid of further subsidies from us. The Government agreed that they would secure a fair arrangement as to freight rates, as between the North-West and Ontario, and the North-West and Quebec. Montreal has a great natural advantage over western cities in being an ocean terminus. The wheat is likely to go down through to Montreal, where it can be shipped across the ocean, and where the cars are emptied, there it is likely they will be filled with goods as return freights. Nobody begrudges that advantage to Montreal. But Toronto and

Hamilton and other western cities have a minor natural advantage in being nearer the North-West, and consequently being able, other things being equal, to send goods to the North-West more cheaply.

FROM THE COMMON POINT,

Callander it is a shorter distance to Hamilton and Toronto than it is to Montreal, and we had a right to expect, and we were promised by the Government, that we should reap the full advantage of that shorter distance. But we have not secured it, and the Canadian Pacific is, it is said, about to make equal rates between Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, and such like points, and the West. The latest act of the Government in connection with the C. P. R., was to reverse their own decision reached the previous year, and to give up \$10,000,000 of our loan to the company in return for our being allowed to retain 7,000,000 acres of our land grant, which is now unsalable. This transaction was accomplished in favour of a company whose stock stands at a premium of between forty and fifty per cent. on the issue price, and whose shareholders have regularly received large dividends upon their investment. That operation at one stroke added \$10,000,000 to our public debt, and \$400,000 to our interest charge, to the advantage of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and to the disadvantage of the taxpayers of Canada. In all these things, as I told you, I am not blaming the company. They were one party to a bargain and the people were the other. The persons I blame are the administrators of your affairs, who made such bargains, who effectuated such a policy, who asked you to endorse their proceedings upon representations which have proven so entirely fallacious. Much of what I have said goes to show what a good bargain, in their own interest, the company made, a consideration which should help to raise their stocks and improve their position. In truth,

NO COMPANY SINCE THE WORLD BEGAN EVER GOT SUCH AN EXCELLENT BARGAIN.

They have the advantage of \$87,000,000 of cash, or its equivalent. They have secured nearly \$11,000,000 from lands sold, bonuses, and town sites, and they have left about 14,000,000 acres of land. If you value this at \$1 an acre, the sum of their public advantage is about \$112,000,000, besides the great monopoly and free road beds, and great exemptions. That, certainly, is a gigantic bonus, which ought to make the company extremely strong. But what I have shown you is that the Government, which gave these immense, unprecedented concessions, has not

fulfilled its pledges or realised its promises. And you must remember that all the development which has taken place in the North-West, and more, would have taken place under our policy; while the enormous debt which burdens us all, and which has done so much to alienate Nova Scotia, would, under that policy, have been very largely avoided.

As to the future, that will speak for itself. About both past and future there were, during construction, many disputable points on which I have not touched; some of the greatest gravity. Many positions were taken, many criticisms were urged, many controversies were waged, as to details of the policy, as to methods, as to results, on which I have not touched. Some I omit for brevity. Some remain yet in the region of dispute; while the policy is consummated and argument cannot affect it now. While I am ready, should my views be challenged, to give my reasons, and prepared, if shown to be wrong, to acknowledge my error, I must say that I have not yet seen ground on any substantial question involved to change my opinions. But on any of these points, the agitation of which might be supposed by susceptible friends to bear injuriously on the prospects of the company, I am very

WILLING TO BIDE MY TIME,

and let the future decide. I have never wished, even when it was a duty to discuss the policy, still less do I wish to-day, to say one avoidable word which might, if any words of mine could, injure the prospects of the company. I believe no one has done more than myself to show how magnificent are their subventions. It has been my duty, however, in the past, and it may be my duty again to criticise their methods, and to discuss their relations with the public. That duty I shall continue to discharge firmly and freely when occasion calls. But this is not such an occasion. I am concerned to-day to show, as I think I have shown, by some though not all the proofs, that *the C. P. R. policy of the Government* has not been wise, has not been justified by events, has not realised their promises, has not effectuated their pledges, and should rather weaken than strengthen their hold on the intelligent electorate of Canada. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY,

IT WAS NOT TO COST THE COUNTRY A CENT—WHAT THE EXPENSE HAS BEEN.

Speaking at Galt, Mr. BLAKE said : The Government promised most emphatically, when they were persuading Parliament and the people to agree to their policy of enormous obligations and rapid construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, that the cash receipts from the land would suffice to pay as the work went on all the obligations and interest without increasing the taxation.

In 1880,

THE FIRST MINISTER USED THESE WORDS :

[For the purpose of relieving the people of Canada from the burden of taxation, which the work would otherwise entail, we have offered every second lot at an upset price, so that the road may be eventually built without costing the people one single farthing which will not be recouped. I believe that land can be made productive under the terms of the resolution to complete the whole of that road, to open that immense country, and give us a magnificent railway from sea to sea, without adding to the burdens of the people, or without causing any necessity for an increase of taxation. We can do it all by the sale of the lands which we hold as a sacred trust for the purpose of defraying the whole expense of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.]

Again he said :—

As the road progresses the annual sale of lands *will be more than sufficient to meet all possible cost of the railway.*

Again :—

The proceeds of the sale of the lands will meet our engagements as the work progresses, including claims for interest.

Mr. White, in amendment to a motion by Mr. Charlton in the same session, moved, and the House resolved :—

[That the policy of the Government for the disposal of the public land in Manitoba and the North-West is calculated to promote the rapid settlement of that region, and to raise the moneys required for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway without further burdening the people, and that it deserves the support and approval of this House.]

In the same year, 1880, the First Minister estimated the cash proceeds of the lands actually to be received from that year to 1890, inclusive, to be \$38,600,000. The amount which would be then due but not payable, but still a mortgage on the lands, and as good as cash, bearing interest, he estimated at \$32,700,000, or an

aggregate received and due of \$71,300,000. He estimated the cost of survey and administration of the lands at \$2,400,000, and he brought down a handsome balance of net results of \$68,900,000 before the year 1890.

On 10th February, 1882,

THE FIRST MINISTER MADE THIS STATEMENT :—

We have not forgotten the promise made by the Government, that they would make the land in that country recoup to the Dominion the \$25,000,000 that we have promised the Syndicate, and what the Dominion has already spent, or is spending on the Canadian Pacific Railway. *There is no reason in the world, as I have urged again and again, why the people of the older Provinces should put their hands in their pockets and settle that country, and improve it, and build railways at their expense.* That country, which is going to reap the advantages of those railways, should provide the cost of the improvements, and the North-West, I am happy to say, is so rich, and will be so sought for, that what was a reasonable proposition at the beginning is now a certainty, namely, that it will be able to sell sufficient land that, while preserving the homesteading right, it would be able to repay to those who have contributed to the taxes necessary in connection with building the road, the money with interest added.

Again :—

It is safe—it is certainly beyond the possibility of doubt—to say that every farthing, and every cent, and every dollar, that has been or will be expended in building the Canadian Pacific Railway, not one shilling of this burden will fall on our shoulders, or the shoulders of the generation that will succeed us. We will be free from the whole amount of that debt.

Again :—

By this year, then, there will be 10,000,000 acres granted to colonization companies under Plan No. 1, which means the eventual payment of \$10,000,000 into the Treasury. . . . That will be \$10,000,000, and with the sales that will take place of railway lands in other portions, we will have, either in money or in what is as good as money, solid mortgages on every one of these colonization tracts, an amount equal to \$2,500,000, so that in one year we may fairly say we have got half of the whole \$25,000,000.

On 2nd April, 1882,

THE FIRST MINISTER SAID :—

It was the policy of the Government that the country should pay for its own railway.

And again :—

Seventy-five thousand acres are to be sold—they are not to be used for homestead purposes—for the purpose of relieving the people of the older Provinces who, on the faith of this assurance and promise—and on that promise only, accepted the burden, and have at the polls recorded their sanction of this policy. . . . They endorsed this policy on the understanding that eventually that country would pay the whole of the expense.

Then, on 12th April, 1882,

SIR CHARLES TUPPER SAID :—

The lands have so increased in value as to warrant us in the statement, and to warrant the conviction in the mind of every intelligent man, that at an early date we will not only have the \$25,000,000 recouped to the Treasury, but we will go on, and, if we have not wiped out our other responsibilities, we will soon be in a condition to wipe out the engagements thrown upon us by the late Government, as well as those incurred by our own in reference to the work.

On the 4th of May, 1883,

SIR CHARLES TUPPER,

then Minister of Railways, read to the House the statement of the Department of the Interior, as follows :—

SIR,—Having given the subject my best and fullest consideration, I estimate that the receipts of this Department from the sale of agricultural and coal lands, timber dues, rents of grazing lands, and sales of mineral lands other than coal, with the royalties from the minerals, between 1st January, 1883, and 31st December, 1891, both days inclusive, will amount to not less than \$58,000,000.

And

SIR CHARLES TUPPER

in the same speech, referring to a general estimate, said :—

This is the amount that we expect to receive from surplus revenue and the sales of land from the commencement of this contract down to the time the contract provides for the completion of the work. With that calculation before us—and I think all will admit that it is a safe calculation—I think we may come to the conclusion, not only that our country will not be overwhelmed in debt, but that we shall be in the position the Imperial Government is in to-day. Mr. Childers reduced the national debt eight millions sterling last year, and he proposes to reduce it by eight millions this year. So my hon. friend, the Minister of Finance, proposes to reduce our debt, so we propose to reduce these surpluses, not for the construction of the Canada Pacific Railway, mark you, but for the reduction of the public debt, that when the work is constructed from end to end, there will not only be no increased indebtedness upon Canada, but at an early day the sales of the land alone will recoup back to the Treasury of the country every dollar that has been expended.

These are some and some only, of the statements made by the Government. I told them, on the other hand, that the sales of these lands "

WOULD NOT MEET THE COST

incurred in the local government and development of the country, and in the surveys and administration of the lands; that they would not pay the interest on the expenditures in respect of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and that they would thus, of course, produce nothing toward the principal. I told them that their cal-

culations were extravagant, wholly unwarranted by the experience of the past or by any reasonable expectations of the future, *and to-day, I am sorry to say, I am able to prove that we were right and they were wholly wrong.* The results from 1880 to 1885 show net receipts of about 3 or \$400,000 over the cost of survey and local and head office administration of the lands, allowing nothing for the cost of Indians, Mounted Police, Local Government, immigration, and so forth. But that is not the worst. The boom years are included, and in the latter two years the receipts do not cover the expenses of administering the lands alone. The results of the settlement are of the same character. And the prospects for the future do not warrant us in believing that there will be many early sales. I cannot give you better proof of that than by referring you to Sir John Macdonald's speech in London, in which with singular inconsistency, while contending that he had redeemed his pledge, that the sales of land would pay the expense of the Canadian Pacific Railway as the work proceeded, he asserted that the free grants would absorb all the immigration that could reasonably be expected for the next twenty-five years. Now, if every immigrant for twenty-five years is to be absorbed by the lands which are granted free

HOW MUCH ARE WE GOING TO SELL ?

(Applause.) It is evident that the charges will absorb all and more than the receipts. The arrears of interest on our payments for the Canadian Pacific Railway already reach many millions of dollars, and will not be met if you set against the receipts the charges ; still less will there be anything to pay current interest or to be applied redeeming the principal. What is that principal ? It amounts, for payments made or pledged, adding together those under and those outside the original contract, to a grand total of \$83,000,000, apart from yearly subsidies.

MR. M'LELAN, THE FINANCE MINISTER,

said last session that the money we borrowed for the last Canada Pacific Railway loan, was costing us more than four per cent., and thus that we made money by receiving back part of that loan in advance. Assumed that we borrowed all the amount, and that the interest and charges on our transcontinental railway expenditure cost us $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the annual charge would be \$3,735,000. There is also in connection with some of the eastern extensions of the system a yearly subsidy of \$250,000 for twenty years, and another of \$30,000 for fifteen years, making \$280,000 a year more for a long term of years. There is thus a yearly charge of over four millions ; and a principal of \$83,000,000. This we have to

pay. (Applause.) Now, I have given you in a few figures the cash cost of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the country apart from lands. I have pointed out that these men told you it would

COST YOU NOTHING,

that they were going to make enough out of the sale of lands to pay for it, principal and interest, as the work went on. But I have shown you that we have already paid many millions out of increased taxation, and we will have to pay scores of millions more in the same way; and this story about the lands paying for the railway is proven to be an absurd and exploded fiction. And yet—

SIR JOHN MACDONALD,

speaking at London, said:—

I was laughed at in introducing the measure originally when I stated that the twenty-five millions which we were to advance, that we were to give as a gift, as a subsidy—I do not refer to the loan now—that every farthing of that would be repaid by selling the land, made valuable by building the railway. Gentlemen, that, like all my other predictions, will be carried out. Under our system even-numbered sections are kept for homesteading, and these even-numbered sections cover such a large area of land that they will absorb all the population that is likely to come into that country for the next twenty-five years. The odd-numbered sections we keep and put into the market at a very reasonable price, and every acre of it that is sold is funded for the purpose of paying the cost of survey, the cost of administration, and, finally, to pay off the twenty-five millions we were obliged to borrow in England for the purpose of the grant to the Canadian Pacific Railway. Gentlemen, we were told at the time we introduced that measure that we were putting a tax, not upon ourselves, but upon every farmer in the older Provinces; that we were taxing posterity; that our children and children's children would feel the burden of those twenty-five millions. I submit, gentlemen, it is now a matter of certainty, it will not happen in a day, in a year, or in some years, for a nation can afford to wait, but I tell you it is certain that those lands will be sold, that the money will form a fund to pay off the twenty-five millions. *Then we will have that great railway finished, finished without putting any burden upon the people of Canada; the twenty-five million and every farthing of it will be paid out of the produce of the lands of the North-West, and not one cent of it will fall upon you, your farms, or your children.*

Now, you will observe, Sir John alters his prediction; he confines it to the twenty-five millions of cash subsidy, but I have proved to you that he and Sir C. Tupper both promised that the lands would pay principal and interest of the whole cost of the Canadian Pacific Railway. If they say that only the \$25,000,000 will be repaid out of the lands, there remains the trifle of \$58,000,000, the rest of the cash cost of the road, which, with enormous arrears of interest, and the yearly subsidies, you must make up your mind,

COMES OUT OF YOUR TAXES.

He says now that the cost will not be paid as the work is done, that "it will not happen in a day, in a year, or in some years," but I have shown you that the promise was that the money would be paid out of the lands, principal and interest, as the work went on; that six years ago they said they would make \$69,000,000 by 1891, and that three years ago they said they would make \$58,000,000 in hard cash between 1883 and 1891; while in fact they will net nothing at all.

Sir John says the homesteads will absorb the immigration for twenty-five years to come. If that is so the debt will have been in the meantime far more than doubled by the interest. The interest charge, even at 4 per cent., will in that time double the debt, apart from the compound interest all together. You will have to pay in simple interest an amount equal to the principal before he begins the process of recoupment. The truth is—and we may as well face it—we will have to pay these four millions a year out of our taxes. (Applause.) We will have to redeem, as a public obligation, this vast principal of 83 millions; we will have to settle the whole. THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT ESCAPE FROM THE FACT THAT THE DEBT AND THE TAXATION, THE PUBLIC BURDENS, HAVE BEEN ENORMOUSLY AND PERMANENTLY INCREASED BY THE BUILDING OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY, REGARDLESS OF THE OTHER DISADVANTAGES OF THEIR CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY POLICY, WHICH I SHALL NOT DISCUSS TO-NIGHT. THEY HAVE BROKEN EVERY PLEDGE. THEY HAVE DECEIVED THE PEOPLE. IT IS FOR THE PEOPLE TO GIVE THEM THEIR REWARD. (Loud applause.)

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY MATTERS.

THE LAST SACRIFICE OF \$10,000,000.

COLLAPSE OF THE TORY BOOM POLICY.

Hon. EDWARD BLAKE, at Listowel, said:—Some recent Ministerial utterances lead me to say a few words to you upon one single point of the Canadian Pacific Railway policy of the Govern-

ment, that concerning the grants to the Company, and particularly the last transaction of taking back some of our waste lands in satisfaction of their debt. First let us try to grasp the magnitude of these grants, the money part of which, contrary to the solemn promise upon which the Government induced Parliament and the country to consent to their policy, must be paid out of your taxes instead of being, as they alleged, paid out of the proceeds of sales of North-West lands. Now, gentlemen, the whole

EXPENDITURE OUT OF PUBLIC RESOURCES

on the transcontinental line—and by the transcontinental line I mean the whole schemes projected from ocean to ocean, because they have made and promised a considerable expenditure outside of the original contracted line between Callander and Port Moody, I say the whole of this public expenditure, made, or pledged, including the receipts by the company through its land grants and bonuses is

NOW ABOUT \$98,000,000.

This takes no account of their free road-bed and station grounds and other privileges, exemptions and monopolies of enormous value. The public expenditure for the main line from Callander to Port Moody is of course less than this, because about \$17,000,000 represents to-day the capitalized value of the sums given or pledged in cash, or by yearly payments, in connection with the other elements of the transcontinental scheme. The distance from Callander to Port Moody is 2,550 miles, and the grants for this part of the scheme are these—Government works and surveys, \$35,000,000 ; cash subsidy, \$25,000,000 ; cash lent the Company and settled last session by the resumption of waste lands, \$10,000,000 ; proceeds of the Company's land grant bonds, local bonuses, and sales of town sites, about \$11,000,000, making a total of \$81,000,000 ; besides about 14,000,000 of acres of land available for sale, which they still retain. These gifts are equal in round figures to \$31,750 and 5,550 acres for each mile of the road. If you reckon the unsold land grant to be worth \$1 an acre, the grants amount to \$95,000,000, or \$37,250 for each mile ; if you reckon the unsold land at the too high rate of \$1.50 per acre, at which the Government took part for their debt, the grants amount to \$102,000,000, or \$40,000 for every mile of the 2,550 miles from Callander to Port Moody. I am convinced, taking the road all over and having regard to the exceptional advantages for railway construction during the last few years, when the cost of construction has been lower than ever before, that had the road been built at moderate speed and with proper economy, had not the rash, the insane policy of extreme haste, with all its incidents and consequences, been adopted, the road

COULD HAVE BEEN BUILT FOR THAT MONEY,

and the Canadian Pacific Railway, built at the public expense, might still be public property. These colossal grants have been supplemented, as I have told you, by the equivalent of \$17,000,000 for outside operations, making a grand total of from \$112,000,000 to \$119,000,000, according as you reckon the value of the unsold land. These grants are enormous and unprecedented. They are beyond comprehension; we cannot grasp such figures; they are equal to more than half our whole net public debt; they are equal to over half a million for each electoral district in Canada; they are equal to a yearly charge for interest and charges, calculating the cost at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., of over \$5,000,000, or for each electoral district about \$24,000 a year. They are equal to over \$120 for each head of a family in Canada. It was with this state of things in view that the Government agreed last session to release \$10,000,000 of the debt, and add \$400,000 a year to the public charge. This is the last transaction included in my figures. Sir John Macdonald in various places has made statements on this subject. At Winnipeg he said:—

“There were only ten millions more of the debt, and the Company said ‘Take your choice: we will pay you the other ten millions, or if you wish to free our land of any mortgage to the Government, so that we can go into the markets of the world and get money to build branches for the purpose of extending and developing the C. P. R., you may take out of the land grant, out of the most fertile part of the great North-West, enough land at \$1.50 an acre to pay your ten millions.’

“Well, gentlemen, you all read the papers, and you know the estimates made, especially by Mr. Blake, as to the value of the lands.

“In his celebrated speech, which has been so often quoted, he stated that the lands, at the lowest valuation, were worth \$3.75 an acre.

“I believe they are worth that, and that we made a good bargain for the lands, at less than half their value. In consequence of its being free of debt, there is no railroad in the world which has such substantial credit as the C. P. R.”

At London he said:—

“There now remained only another ten millions to be recouped, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company came to us and they said, ‘We have until 1890 to pay this. We have paid you twenty millions five years before the time. We will now do one of two things: we will pay you the money in 1890, if you wish to free us of all obligations, and get done with the inconvenient relation between the Government and the Company of debtor and creditor. We will pay you in land the whole balance of the debt at \$1.50 an acre. Now, gentlemen, that land was to be taken out of the railway belt, that land was to be taken out of the 25 millions of acres that we had agreed to give them, and which they had earned, that land extending 20 miles each side of the railway; some of the finest land that has ever laid out of doors, to use a familiar expression. It recalls to our recollection that Mr. Blake, in his place in the House of Parliament, has valued that land at a minimum, at

the least value, at \$3.75 an acre. Mr. Charlton said it was worth \$5 an acre, and the Company offered us, in order to get rid of the obligation, the land at \$1.50 per acre. Well, we had to consider it, and the Government came to the conclusion, and I think you will agree with us, it was a correct conclusion, if the land at its lowest is worth \$3.75, we were making rather a good bargain out of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to get the land at less than half price. (Cheers.) So we took the land at \$1.50 an acre, and we have those lands now; we are selling those lands, and we are making a fund out of the sales as the lands are sold, in order to redeem the bonds, to redeem our obligation to our creditors, to apply to the payment of the ten millions. So that, gentlemen, we are now free from the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Canadian Pacific Railway is free from us; the lifting of the mortgage on the railway for this ten million frees them entirely. They are the most enterprising body in the world; they are extending their road in every possible way; they are building branch roads wherever branches can be useful to the country and to the road as a commercial enterprise. They can now go into the market free from all debt to issue their bonds, and with the prestige, with the credit they have gained by the fact that the road is now completed, by the fact that they own the road, and that the Canadian Government or Canadian Parliament cannot interfere with them—that they can go into any of the markets of the world, and the very people that would not look at their bonds at any price three years ago will only be too glad to get them at their market value.”

You know how much confidence they have in me! They have often told you how correct my judgment is! (Cheers and laughter.) And so of course,

THEY WERE QUITE SATISFIED

when, as they allege, I, of all men in the world, valued the land at \$3.50 an acre, that they must be making an excellent bargain. (Laughter.) Sir John is never tired of this alleged quotation of my opinion. Everywhere he repeats it, and depends on me! He says, “This is Mr. Blake’s estimate;” and it is extraordinary, and even flattering, to know how much they depend upon Mr. Blake’s alleged estimate—when it suits them! (Loud applause and laughter.) Gentlemen, it was not so.

THEY MADE THE ESTIMATE THEMSELVES.

Sir John Macdonald gave an estimate as far back as 1879 and repeated it in 1880, of the value of North-West lands within a certain distance of the projected railway. He declared what the land was worth in each of several belts on either side of the railway, valuing the several belts at different prices correspondent with their distance from the line. Only a few months later in the same year they brought down a new railway policy, under which they were to give lands along the line to the present company, and, in dealing with this new policy, I said:—A few months ago you valued these lands at such and such prices. Now that the situation has, as you say, everyway

improved, and that the railway is to be built through the lands faster than was then expected, thus increasing their estimated market value, you surely must believe the lands to be worth at least as much as your own estimate of a few months ago. Here is what I said on that subject in 1880:

"What about the lands? These lands are to be within 24 miles of the railway. According to the estimate of the Government, made by them in the recess before last session, and which they published to the world as the terms of sale of railway lands; confirmed by them during last session, when they brought it down and declared it to be a moderate estimate; further confirmed by them when they asked Parliament to sanction their going on with the work on those regulations and principles; and still further confirmed, in a sense, when they announced, as they have repeatedly announced, that the prospects of selling land in the North-West are infinitely brighter to-day, that the land is worth more to-day than it was a year ago. According to this view, which we may take as a minimum estimate, there is established for lands to be found within twenty-four miles of the railway, an average price \$4.04 an acre. (Hon. members, hear, hear.) Well, the hon. member for Niagara and other hon. members think that a wholly ridiculous estimate.

"Mr. Plumb—We do.

"I did not hear that the hon. member for Niagara thought it a ridiculous estimate when his chief and leader propounded it last year. * * * But now the case is different, and the case being different alters the case, and the hon. gentleman, the case being altered and his chief being absent, sneers at and ridicules his chief's estimate of the value of the land.

"I may explain, sir, since there appears to be a little incredulity on this subject, how it is. The ten-mile range, or rather the two ranges of five miles, near the railway, were valued at five dollars an acre, * * * the two fifteen-mile ranges near to this, making thirty miles in depth altogether, were valued at \$4; and eight miles of the next range the three dollar range."

I thus showed that the average value, as estimated by the Government themselves, of the land they were about to grant, was \$4.04 an acre.

Now have I not demonstrated by the clearest proof the fact that

THIS WAS THEIR, AND NOT MY VALUATION?

What is to be said of the candour and honesty of public men who endeavour to persuade you that they relied on my values, when they knew I was only quoting their own?

I think mine was not an unfair argument, I was applying their own valuation to their own bargain; and they couldn't well complain of that! (Applause and laughter.) But even if it had been my estimate in 1880, and if I had been wrong then in my valuation of North-West lands, I want to know whether that would justify a bargain made for the purchase of North-West lands in 1886? Suppose this had been my estimate, instead of theirs, and that subsequent events had proved it was wrong, or

suppose the value and prospects of sale had changed in six years, what sensible man would say.—“You are justified in buying these lands in 1886, because in 1880 a gentleman in whom you had no confidence whatever valued them higher?” Why, when I used my argument in 1880 they repudiated their own valuation and declared it ridiculous! But not one of you but knows that the price of land in this country fluctuates. Not one of you but knows that there have been great rises and falls in the value of real estate in the North-West. It is absurd to talk of lands there having a fixed and immutable value. The value goes up and down according to circumstances, especially in a new country subject to such fluctuations and contingencies as the North-West.

HAVE THERE BEEN NO BOOMS

and no collapses in the North-West? They acknowledged that a boom happened—they caused it. They acknowledge that a collapse has occurred. They caused it too. They say that they cannot even give away the land as rapidly as they desire. Sir John Macdonald himself said at London that the immigration to the North-West would be absorbed by the free grants and homesteads for twenty-five years to come. What chance is there, then, of selling farming lands meanwhile? Do you want ten million acres more to sell when you expect to give all free that will be wanted for the next quarter of a century? It is absurd; and yet they say they made a most excellent bargain for the country. They tell you they have bought land cheap for you, and that they are going to make money out of the purchase; and still in the same speech, yes, and even in the same sentence, Sir John declares that the position of the Company is greatly strengthened by this sale. It could not have been, in this aspect, a very good sale for both the Company and the Government as well. If the Government got the land dog cheap, at half price, surely the Company must have sold too cheap and lost money! (Cheers.) As a matter of fact, it is correct that

THE COMPANY WAS VERY MUCH STRENGTHENED

by this transaction, for the moment it was cabled that the Government had agreed to buy the lands at this price, the Company's stock rose several millions of dollars, just because the Company had made so good a bargain and the Government such a bad one. (Cheers.) Now then, I dealt in 1885 with this whole question of North-West lands. I then dealt with their pretence that the old valuation was mine. I repudiated it then. I gave them my views on the general subject then; and if they, in 1886, were re-

lying on my opinions, it was to those views of 1885 they should have referred. Remember, this speech was made just a few months before they made this bargain, and shortly after the Company had asked them to agree, and they had refused, as they did in 1885, to make the purchase. This is what I said:—

“Now, the hon. gentleman referred to my valuation of the North-West lands, as he called it, in 1880-81. I pointed out what the Government valuation had been in the preceeding year. I was not, therefore, measuring their corn in my bushel, but in their own, and I think

THAT IS A FAIR WAY.

They have valued the lands at such and such prices, and the following session, within a few months, with no variations of circumstances except one of improvement having occurred, they brought up a proposal to hand over the picked lands—nothing which was not cultivated—lands fairly fit for settlement—that was the character of the lands; they were proposing to hand them over to the Canadian Pacific Railway, and I said: Now you are bringing forward this as a bargain. You told us the lands were worth on the average so much money last year. Are the circumstances worse now? No; they told us they were better. Then the lands must be worth as much? Yes, that could not be denied. Well, if you were giving so much lands to this railway, and if according to your conception, they are worth so much money, then of course you are giving them the equivalent of so much money. That was my argument. But I have never said that the price of the North-West land was a fixed figure. On the contrary, I have pointed out that under different circumstances, in varying years, under varying influences, the price of the lands in the North-West, as in other new countries, would rise and fall, and that we have to deal with the facts as they were presented to us at the time at which we were called upon to deal. I cannot say what the North-West lands will bring in the near or the distant future, but I can refer to some tests of the value of those lands at the present time, and that I will venture to do. I say that their value in the future is speculative; on the average, no doubt, in the long run, the value will improve, the country will improve, but what you should deem them worth to-day, or in the near future, is a question which passes my poor head to answer, although hon. gentlemen answer it in various ways according to the exigencies of the situation. I pointed out last session that they could not be relied on as present sources of revenue to meet the interest on the loan, and now after the collapse which occurred during and since last session, and after the outbreak of this session, what are we to say is their value? Now, I will give you some tests.”

I then proceeded to refer to the North-West Lands Co., and went on as follows:—

“Well, then,

“TAKE THE COLONIZATION COMPANIES.

“In the year 1884 the Minister of Railways stated that there were some 23,000,000 acres applied for by colonization companies, that \$10,000,000 were already provided for, and that the rest would be provided for very soon, because they would go on selling an increased average and enlarging the price. We do not know, of course, what the Government measure is; they have promised to bring one down, and they admit that they are about to bring a proposal to relieve the colonization companies whose bargains made with them by the Government are too hard, and cannot be performed. Take again the

CALCULATION OF THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF.

On the 4th of May, 1883 they brought down calculations that they would realize \$58,000,000 in cash for the lands in the North-West by the year 1891. How many millions will they dare say they will realize now? Will any man amongst them say they will realize \$58,000,000? Will any man say that they will realize one-half of \$58,000,000? If they will not will they say that circumstances have not changed, or that their calculations have been verified? Take their action in June, 1883, when they passed an Order-in-Council declaring that in future they would give no lands to railway companies in the North-West at a price which would let the Government less than \$1.50 per acre. They were afraid that the former price gave too large a margin of profit to the railway companies which had not been fortunate enough to secure land at \$1 per acre, were to pay at least \$1.50. Now, we had this condition of things, that while in June, 1883, the Government declared that future sales to railways should be at a price which would net the Government \$1.50 per acre, the companies making their profit beyond, in September, 1884, they decided upon the policy of giving lands free to the railways, and why? Because they found that

THE RAILWAYS COULD NOT SELL

the lands at one dollar even and make money on them, and in order to make that money which they intended the railways should make, it was necessary to give them free. *Does not that show a change of situation as to the lands in the North-West.* Surely there is but one answer to that. When you find the Government declaring in June, 1883 that it would be sufficiently profitable to the railway companies to get lands at \$1.50, and in September, 1884, saying we must give them free to the railway companies in order that they may make some profit on them, who will deny that there is a change—I do not know how long it will last—with reference to the North-West lands? And what more? Why, Mr. Van Horne, in September, 1884, declared that he was not sanguine, with a gift of practically 9,600 acres a mile for 100 miles of the Manitoba South-Western Railway, passing through the best part of Southern Manitoba and long settled, that he would be able to build that line, although he started out with a basis of credit of 50 miles of completed line, for which the company charges something like \$25,000 a mile. That is the statement of a gentleman who, in his other capacity as Vice-President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, is certainly deeply interested in not depreciating the value of the lands of the North-West. *Does not that show a change?* Take the dealings of the Bell Farm Company with the Government, by which their agreement is modified very materially. Take the fact that there are *only twenty-three homesteads on a 400 mile stretch of the Canadian Pacific Railway through the prairies.* Taking all these facts, I ask you whether there is any immediate prospect of realizing considerable sums from the sale of lands in the North-West. Now, these gentlemen do not like this, because they told us, when they asked us to assent to the Canadian Pacific Railway contract in 1881, and again when they asked us to assent to the loan of 1884, that they were going shortly to pay off the railway obligations which the people of Canada were incurring out of the lands of the North-West; they told us they would all be recouped out of the lands; and having told us that, they do not like to hear these statements which convict them out of their own mouths of gross miscalculations."

So that you see a few months before the bargain I explained fully the past, and stated my views as to the present value of North-West lands as established by the experience which we had

been gaining, and with reference to the sales and prospects of sales. Surely if it were my judgment and estimate on which they wished to rely they would have turned to my speech of 1885, and to the fact that in the same year I denounced the proposal as one not fit to be entertained. But now

THEY WISH TO GULL THE PEOPLE

by pretending, forsooth, that they acted on my valuations. It is as dishonest as it is shallow to make any such pretence. (Cheers.) There was another element to be considered in judging of the prudence of this transaction. That is the proved demand for public lands in the North-West of late years. That demand had fallen to nothing. Look at things as they were in the early years, in Mr. Mackenzie's time, when there were yet no railways, when these men alleged there was no North-West progress, and compare the figures with their own. (Applause.) The entries for public lands in the North-West were for 1875 1,021, covering 163,000 acres; for 1876, 807, covering 153,000 acres; for 1877, 2,283, covering 400,000 acres; and for 1878, 4,065, covering 632,000 acres; and in the last year they were 724 sales. Then came the present Government.

THEY CREATED THE DISASTROUS BOOM,

with its thousands of nominal entries and its delusive and short-lived prosperity. In 1882 it rose to its height; there were 16,740 nominal entries, covering 2,700,000 acres, with 3,703 sales. In 1883 it showed signs of contraction. There were 11,217 nominal entries, covering 1,800,000 acres, with 1,034 sales. Before 1883 closed it was ended. In 1884 the bubble had already burst, the collapse had already taken place. They now attribute that collapse to the rebellion. Now, the rebellion was their fault, and so they cannot thus escape. (Cheers.) But the rebellion did not take place till 1885; and in 1884 there were but 661 entries, but four per cent. of those of 1883, a reduction of 96 per cent., covering only 94,000 acres, and one single sale, while in 1885 it had become worse; there were but 129 entries, covering 21,000 acres, and one single sale. (Cheers.) If they wish to charge the falling off between 1884 and 1885 to that page in

THE BLACK LEDGER OF THEIR CRIMES

which is headed "North-West Rebellions" they are welcome. (Loud cheering.) But so it was, that the demand had fallen to nothing, that there were but 79 homestead entries, 49 pre-emptions, and one single sale in the year before this great bargain

by which we bought ourselves so rich ! (Laughter and applause.) So it was, that even compared with the progress in the "bad times" of Mr. Mackenzie their figures should have made them blush and pause just at the period when they secured more land to sell ! Again, but 139 persons had, up to the close of 1885, taken up homesteads on a stretch of 400 miles along the C. P. R. in the North-West. How absurd it is to talk of this as a bargain ! How absurd to tell you that you are to clear the ten millions and interest out of these lands ! (Applause.) In truth, there is

NO PROSPECT

of the Government netting within any reasonable time any appreciable sum out of North-West lands. Remember that the Government cannot sell in detail to as great advantage as private persons. There will be no special prices for special farms ; and you may as well make up your minds to the inevitable, and set your shoulders to the wheel, for you will have to foot the bill. (Applause.)

Now, you must remember there is another thing to be considered also. We were promised that the Company would be our great immigration agent. We were told that, as owners of 25,000,000 acres, their interest in getting the country settled, so as to secure the advantage to them of settling up their own lands, would make them incur the cost and save us the expense of bringing in immigrants. But, by this bargain, to the extent of 10,000,000 acres, we have taken away the necessity laid upon the company of bringing in immigrants. Sir John Macdonald said that the company first made the offer that, if we preferred it, instead of paying back in cash all that we had loaned them, they would transfer to us 7,000,000 of acres. He indicates that the company didn't want it particularly, but he took the offer because

IT WAS SUCH A GOOD THING

for the country. (Laughter.) That, I fear, is not a candid statement of the case. It appears from public documents that the company asked for the arrangement the year before. I opposed it in the House on the rumour getting out. The Government then refused the Company's request. The Company, it is plain, pressed it again as part of the settlement of the debt this year, and at length succeeded. If you think this transaction took place to benefit Canada, with its existing possessions of this and scores of millions of acres of waste land which cannot now be sold to immigrants, that is a fiction of which you had better disabuse your minds. It has no existence, in fact. This was a

FURTHER AND ENORMOUS BOON

to this great Company ; and when you consider the colossal gifts which had been lavishly made before, and the gigantic sums in principal and interest which we were called to pay, when you consider how prosperous and flourishing they reported the present condition, and how bright and glowing the immediate future of this great corporation—the creature of our bounty,—I think you will agree that this further concession, *this cancellation of ten millions of their debt for seven millions of our waste and unsaleable lands, was extravagant, needless, improper, and impolitic*, and deserves your condemnation at the polls. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

NORTH-WEST LANDS.

A CORRECTION MADE BY THE LIBERAL LEADER—A DIFFERENCE IN THE FIGURES BUT NO DIFFERENCE IN THE CONCLUSION TO BE DRAWN.

In his speech at St. Thomas Hon. EDWARD BLAKE said :—I observe that Mr. White has pointed out inaccuracies in some figures I gave lately about North-West lands. These figures I took from a book which I have caused to be kept up for some years, giving particulars of the statements in the blue books. On reference to the gentleman who did this work for me, I am informed that he finds that for the last two years he by mistake took only one of two sets of figures for the totals. I feel it my duty at once to acknowledge and correct the inaccuracy. Here is a table which I believe gives the facts :—

NORTH-WEST LANDS.

Year.	Entries.	Acres.	Homesteads.	Pre-emptions	Sales.
1877.....	2,283	400,424	832	594	767
1878.....	4,065	682,591	1,753	1,588	605
1882.....	16,740	2,699,145	7,383	5,654	3,703
1883.....	11,237	1,852,046	6,039
Less cancelled....	375	100,000	375
1883 (net).....	10,862	1,752,046	5,644	4,120	1,034
1884.....	7,700	1,087,256	3,753	2,762	1,185
Less cancelled....	2,366	367,280	1,394	572
1884 (net).....	5,334	719,976	2,359	1,790	1,185

Year.	Entries.	Acres.	Homesteads.	Pre-emptcons.	Sales.
1885.....	2,317	481,814	1,559	590	168
Less cancelled....	2,236	355,269	1,296	940
1885 (net)	81	126,545	263	350	168

You will observe that during 1877 and 1878, in Mr. Mackenzie's time, there was fair progress, and that the advance of 1878 over 1877 was considerable, the entries being nearly double. Then coming to

THE BOOM YEAR

of 1882, you will see an utterly abnormal, and in truth an unreal and ruinous expansion, with two and three-quarter million acres taken up, with nearly 17,000 entries—7,400 homesteads, 5,600 pre-emptcons, and 3,700 sales. Then in 1883 you find the failure of the boom. The entries were half as much again, and the sales were nearly four times as numerous in 1882 as in 1883. Then comes 1884, with all the signs of collapse; the entries fell to 7,700, less than half of the number in 1882, and the ominous entry of cancellations became prominent; they numbered 2,366, reducing the net gain in entries for the year to 5,334, less than one-third of those of 1882; the net gain in lands taken up was but 720,000 acres, little more than one-fourth of 1882; the net gain in homesteads was but 2,359, and in pre-emptcons, 1,790, while the sales numbered 1,185. The figures had got so low that, having regard to the change of circumstances and the lapse of years, the progress compared most unfavourably with that of 1877 and 1878. Then we come to 1885, and reach the lowest point. The entries fell to 2,317, hardly more than half those of 1878; but there were no less than 2,236 cancelled entries, so that the net gain was nominal, 81 only. The land taken was only 480,000 acres; but 355,000 acres were cancelled, leaving only 126,000 acres to the good, as against 680,000 acres in 1878. The net gain in homesteads was but 263, as against 1,753 in 1878. There was an absolute loss in pre-emptcons of 350, the cancellations exceeding by that figure the new pre-emptcons. And the sales fell to 168, not 5 per cent. of those of 1882, and little more than one-fourth of those of 1878. These figures tell you plainly how completely

THE GOVERNMENT HAS FAILED

to fulfil its promises. How utter has been the collapse of its policy! How hollow its dreams of large settlement and enormous receipts from North West lands, wherewith to recoup Canada for the uncounted millions it has lavished! Who now dares to say, as was said in 1883, that we shall realize fifty-eight millions out

of North-West lands by 1891? You have been grossly deceived and misled; your future has been mortgaged and your taxes have been squandered upon false pretences; and you have now to pay the heavy price of your misplaced confidence in the Tory Government. (Cheers.)

RAILWAY POLICY.

Reimbursement of Local Expenditure.

In his speech at Orangeville Mr. BLAKE referred to the items of railway expenditure made and pledged, and in the course of his remarks, he said:—

You have heard it said, no doubt, that I have been pandering to Quebec, and have been willing to say or do anything to catch the French vote. I have not hesitated to claim justice for the various Provinces, even though it might be turned to my prejudice in Quebec. Let me give you an example. You will remember that some sessions ago a proposition was laid before the House for the payment of several millions of dollars to the Province of Quebec in part reimbursement of the

PROVINCIAL EXPENDITURE ON CERTAIN RAILWAYS

built in Quebec; and which it was proposed should be treated as extensions of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

I took the ground that, adopting this policy we should give equal justice to the other Provinces. Let me quote some extracts from my speech, as explanatory of my views:—

Now in the Province of Ontario, in accordance with her system of local government, which has developed to a much greater extent than in any of the other Provinces, minuter systems of local government, by means of municipal institutions, municipal taxation, and municipal expenditure, the Local Government has provided more largely for railways, through municipalities, than that of any of the other Provinces.

The general results in the Province of Ontario are as follows:—Government aid paid and promised \$6,520,000; to this is to be added the settlement of the claim of the Canada Central for a large specific grant of land in the Province of Ontario, made by the Legislature before Confederation, and in respect of which the courts held there was a legal claim against, not the Province, but the lands of the Province for an indefinite amount. This was

settled for \$550,000 in respect of railway construction which took place after Confederation. This makes a total of \$7,070,000 as the Government expenditure made and to be made. To this is to be added the municipal aid—I am sorry I have not been able to get all the grants, but the grants I have obtained information of are about \$8,000,000, making a payment in all of over \$15,000,000 by the Province, irrespective of a very large amount of the old Municipal Loan Fund debt, which was an asset of the Province of Ontario, and which was remitted to the municipalities—had been expended in the earlier railway construction. That I do not take into account at all, as my effort has been to ascertain what has been expended in the Province on railways since Confederation. One other observation is fit to be made, with reference to the expenditure of over \$15,000,000, and to which, I have just alluded, in Ontario, and it is this, that no less a sum than \$3,200,000 of that expenditure has been made on lines which have been declared to be now, practically, parts of the Canadian Pacific Railway—the Canada Central an expenditure of \$850,000; the Toronto, Grey & Bruce, which, it is said is to be the main artery to the Canadian Pacific for a considerable time to come, and which has been leased under arrangements, to which Parliament has given its sanction, by the Canadian Pacific Railway as part of the Ontario & Quebec—\$1,450,000; the Credit Valley, which forms a link in the line of through communication, which Parliament has sanctioned the acquisition of by the Canadian Pacific Railway, \$900,000, so that, as I have said, \$3,200,000 of provincial and municipal money has been expended in the Province of Ontario for enterprises now practically part of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and deemed to be of very great importance on the proper working and complete realization of the benefits to be derived from that enterprise, and under the demands made upon municipalities in respect to these liberal railway grants, very considerable difficulties have arisen and very great burdens have been imposed upon many thriving municipalities.

I then proceeded to show that in Nova Scotia \$2,712,000 had been expended in like manner, apart from lands, and in New Brunswick \$1,876,000, besides a large area of lands, and I went on as follows:—

Speaking roughly, it is very extraordinary how closely in the whole of the Provinces the railway expenditure approximates the basis of population. In the Province of Manitoba over \$900,000, I believe, has been given municipally to various railways, either to the Canadian Pacific Railway or to railways which have had more or less connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway. I have shown you an expenditure in the five Provinces of over \$30,000,000, and there is this observation to be made with respect to that expenditure: that the railways upon which it has been made are, many of them, aye, most of them, aye, almost all of them of infinitely greater importance, railways which can infinitely more properly be called railways of great advantage to Canada within the meaning of our constitution than many of those lines which the hon. gentleman has sought to bring within our jurisdiction, and many of those proposed railways for which he is now advocating a federal subvention. I do not intend to go over the list, but this fact is notorious. Let each member consider the lines in his own Province which have been built since Confederation and he will see with the very greatest facility that the observation I have made is just and correct, namely, that those lines which have been constructed are of infinitely more importance, of infinitely greater consequence and infinitely more national in their character than any of the lines now proposed to be aided, and indeed more important than any line which can be projected. They are the main lines that were required at that time. * * * Now a third proposal is

made, namely, that there should be a payment to a Province, in respect of past expenditure on certain of its Provincial railways. I maintain that this is a principle now brought forward for the first time, and which, if it is to be applied at all, must have an application more extensive than that proposed to be given to it. I maintain it is not just to apply that principle in one Province, and not to the other Provinces. *I maintain that the claims and rights of the other Provinces ought to be recognized, when this new policy is inaugurated.* We know what the truth is in this matter. We know perfectly well, it is quite notorious to us, that the finances of the Province of Quebec are in a distressed condition. * * * I do not think the people of Quebec will dissent from the spirit in which I now address myself to them, namely, that it is fair and reasonable, under these circumstances, when a new policy of this kind is being proposed, to consider what its real basis is, to consider what the real condition of the other Provinces is, relatively to that basis and otherwise, and to see whether what is being proposed, as it stands, and without affecting proper remedies for the application generally of the new principle you propose can be called just. I have pointed out the railway expenditure of the Provinces which have expended money on railways, and have shown you it bears an approximate relation to the population and resources of the various Provinces. I have shown you that other Provinces stood in the same position as Quebec with reference to this railway expenditure, I have shown you, for example, that the Province of Ontario has, through our municipalities, expended \$3,200,000 on railways which are now part of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and I say that, in dealing with these lines, dealing with the question of railway expenditure, proposing to recoup Provinces in respect to railway expenditure, the proper, just and equitable mode of dealing with the case is to place all the Provinces on the same relative footing, to do justice, not to one, but to all. I have no desire to interfere with the aid it may be necessary to give in the interests of Confederation at large to place on a somewhat better footing the finances of Quebec, but whether the hon. gentleman of that Province agree with me or not, I am prepared to advocate in the House, while I yield what I think just, the claims of justice to all; and I believe that justice to all is not done by these resolutions. I believe that justice to all requires a wider application and a sounder basis for the application of the principle which the hon. gentleman proposes to incorporate in our legislature, and I moved, *seconded by Mr. Laurier*, the following amendment:—

“But this House feels bound to express the opinion that Canada, when (as proposed by the said resolution) recouping one of the Provinces for part of the past local expenditure in railways, should have regard to the past local expenditure in other Provinces in railways, almost all of which have been declared to be for the general advantage of Canada, and this House regrets that the Government, while proposing a measure of relief to one Province, has not taken steps with a view to a fair and proportionate measure of relief in respect of all local expenditure in the other Provinces.”

That was the position of the Liberal party, and you will judge whether that position was sound and reasonable, you will judge how far it is fair or right that the Governments of Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the other Provinces and their municipalities should

CONTRIBUTE WITHOUT ANY RECÔUPMENT

from Ottawa, many, many millions of dollars, to the construction

of public works, which are of enormous importance to the country at large, and a great part of which have been absorbed by the Canadian Pacific, while the Government of one of the Provinces receives a large recoupment in respect of similar works constructed within its borders. I think justice to all demanded the adoption of my amendment, which I rejoice to say was sustained by the solid body of the Liberal party. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

RAILWAY POLICY OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.

GUINEA-PIG DIRECTORS OF SIR JOHN'S SUBSIDIZED ROADS—ASSISTED IMMIGRATION, AND JOBBING IN PRINTING—CONVERSION OF THE "MAIL."

Hon. EDWARD BLAKE, in the course of a speech at Huntsville said:—It is a long time, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, that I have promised myself the pleasure—and many a time I have talked with your former representative, Mr. Cockburn, about it—of visiting the district of Muskoka. I am very glad an occasion has arisen when I am able to conjoin a visit to your lovely lakes and brilliant woods, which I have been enjoying this morning, with a visit to what, after all, must be the chief charm of a country to any public man or to any man worthy of the name, the people who inhabit it. (Applause.) I am glad to see your faces as well as the beautiful scenery in the midst of which you live, the loveliness of which must compensate you very largely for the trials, difficulties, and privations which happen to the pioneers who settle up a new and somewhat rough country. I am MYSELF THE SON OF AN OLD SETTLER, who, more than half a century ago, went into the completely unbroken forest and there hewed out for himself the space in which he put up

THE LOG HOUSE IN WHICH I FIRST SAW THE LIGHT.

(Applause.) Early in my public life I was called upon to represent a new county, though not quite so new as this, the county of Bruce. And I have just had the pleasure of speaking to two former inhabitants of Bruce who cast their first votes for me in 1867. (Loud applause.) It has thus been my lot both by birth and political connections to take a deep^{er} interest in the situation,

struggles, and wants of those who have been pioneers in Canada. I was early brought face to face with one of their prime needs, that of easier and cheaper means of transportation and communication. I knew what the condition of things was in Bruce when I first went there. I know the changes which followed in four or five years, when I was called upon to take power in Ontario, about the close of 1871; I was called upon to do so at a time when it was necessary practically to set on foot what had been inaugurated on paper only, a large scheme of Provincial railway aid to meet that great necessity. Under these circumstances, taking stock of the circumstances and the needs, as well of some of the older portions of the Province as of the new districts, my colleagues and myself determined that a very much larger appropriation of the public funds than that proposed by our predecessors would be necessary in order to do justice to all; and though the House had been elected under the auspices of my opponents, I did not hesitate to bring down a plan involving more than

DOUBLE THE AMOUNT THEY HAD PROPOSED

for railway aid. The amount was one and a half millions at that time. I proposed to add \$400,000, and also a further sum of two millions, payable in annual amounts extending over twenty years—thus more than doubling the cash value of the grant. And being called upon practically to apply the grant, so far as the applications then before us enabled us to assist the districts, it was my good fortune to propose, with the assent of my colleagues, grants for almost all the new districts in which there were then railway schemes, including Grey, Bruce, Simcoe, Renfrew, Victoria, Addington, Hastings, and Nipissing, and even this then very new district of Muskoka. It fell to me to propose the grant out to Washago and later to Gravenhurst, which was then the furthest point to which railways in this quarter had been projected. The Conservatives allege that the Reform party is not a party of practical, progressive men, that we object to large practical steps taken to improve the condition of the country, but those who know the course of the Reform party will agree with me that whether we were out of office, or whether we were in office, our course has been entirely different. (Cheers.)

After showing how largely the Mackenzie Government aided railways, Mr. Blake contrasted the honest manner in which the Liberal Ministry granted subsidies with the proceedings of Sir John Macdonald regarding the Railway Section of the Boodle Brigade. He proceeded:

I have never objected—on the contrary I heartily approve—of

a member of Parliament who considers his district entitled to aid on behalf of a certain railway, pressing fairly upon the Legislature and the Government the just claims of the district. I think that is part of his public duty as the representative of that district. I have objected strongly, however, and I object before you, to the combination of the assumed discharge of public duty with a private and personal pecuniary interest in the subsidy or the enterprise which derives its commercial value from the subsidy. (Cheers.) Look what happens. The Government comes down, as it did last session, at the close of the session, with proposals for between thirty and forty grants to different railway enterprises. We were called upon to swallow them all at once. It was rather more than my digestion was capable of dealing with, but it had to be done. (Laughter.) We find case after case in which these applications are made by members of Parliament. Is that in itself objectionable? No.

IT MAY BE THE DUTY

of the member to make the application. But we find in a great many of the cases that the member has a double interest, not only that of a public man and a representative, acting for his district, but also a private interest which may cause himself to be enriched or impoverished, according as the grant is given or withheld.

In this connection Mr. Blake referred to the case of Mr. Burns, M.P., for Gloucester, N.B., who owns eleven-twelfths of the stock in the Caraquet Railway, which has received three bonuses aggregating \$224,000, of which his proportion was over \$200,000. This he said was but an instance, and though one of the most readily stated, it was not by any means worse than some others. He proceeded:—

Now, I say to you, we must put a stop to this thing. (Cheers.) I am very glad to notice amongst certain startling developments on other subjects, that there is some sign of our voice on this subject, having reached as far as—how far do you think—as far even as the *Mail* newspaper. (Laughter and applause.) The change is not all I could desire, but when a man sees a glimmering of the light I am prepared to hope for better things. (Laughter and applause.) This is what the *Mail* said on the 24th September:—

“It is of the last importance that members of the House should be free from corrupting influences, and that their independence should be jealously guarded.”

“But if members are to be debarred from taking part in public or private enterprises which are likely to receive Government aid in the shape of money, Parliament will be weeded of some desirable men.”

Now, there are four or five millions of people in this Canada of ours. I believe they are five millions of intelligent, capable, progressive people. We have plenty of moderate capitalists, of railway contractors, railway engineers, railway promoters, speculative persons, but it is gravely stated that unless the 211 men who are chosen out of these four or five millions of people to conduct the public business; to legislate upon public affairs; to decide upon the public policy; to determine the public expenditure are allowed to engage in these enterprises, "Parliament will be weeded of some desirable persons." (Loud laughter.) How is this serious difficulty to be got over? I believe we can best get over it by realizing that there is no difficulty at all. I think we can find plenty of people outside of our legislative halls to promote and build these subsidized railways. But that does not yet suit the *Mail*—the *Mail* says the common-sense plan would be to distinguish between the *bona fide* promoter and the mere guinea pig—as they are called in England—you will observe that the *Mail*, by inference, admits that there are members of Parliament who are

MERE GUINEA PIGS.

How is this distinction to be made? The *Mail* says provide a stake test, as is done in France. It seems an extraordinary thing for the *Mail* just now to look to France as a guide. (Laughter and applause.) The *Mail* says:—

"The common-sense plan would be for the House to distinguish between the *bona fide* promoter and the mere guinea pig, whose only capital is his political influence or his capacity for log-rolling. This could be done, we think, by providing a stake test, as it was termed in France—that is by compelling the promoter or director who happens to be a member of Parliament, to prove on oath, when the scheme comes up for a Government bonus, that he has invested in it a substantial amount (to be fixed by the House) of cash actually his own, and not lent or advanced to him by others. By this means the mere politician who wants to turn his influence or his supposed influence with a Government to account, would be kept out of ventures of the kind, whilst no hindrance would be placed in the way of the member who was a legitimate business man."

I contend that

THIS PROPOSAL IS INADEQUATE.

No harm will result to the railway enterprises of the country if you say to the members of Parliament:—"It is not compatible with your public duty that you should smirch your reputations, and place yourselves in invidious positions, by working for subsidies from which you are to get personal pecuniary benefit." Acting on any other principle there is danger, great danger, of

abuse ; and, so far as I know, *not a single one of the members of Parliament whom I have accused of acting wrongly in this connection could answer the stake test.* (Laughter and applause.) The putting in of a substantial stake is the last thing they think about in connection with these enterprises, through which they are to acquire great political influence and tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars at the same time. Who are they ? Are they railway builders, railway engineers, capitalists ? No. *They are doctors, lawyers, country merchants, politicians, people of that kind, who never thought of building a railway until they found they could draw upon the public treasury to help them out in the business.* (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Having referred to the *Mail's* sudden conversion to the principle of Manhood Suffrage, Mr. Blake proceeded to consider the same paper's somersault on Assisted Immigration.

He said: The burden of immigration expenditure has been enormously increased. Instead of being removed it has been trebled or more. We objected to it because it was not only extravagant but

ATTENDED WITH JOBBERY.

We objected to it because the assisted passage system has been perverted and used injuriously to the fair claims of labour, and because the attempt to force immigration into the older Provinces had resulted unfavourably, and we insisted that the whole system should be modified, the expenditure cut down, and a simple effort made to announce to the tenant farmers of England and other places the capabilities of various parts of the country, so that we might induce those to come whom we desired to secure the advantages which we had to offer. These views have been stated by myself and many others. Let me quote part of my language at Hampton a few months ago :—

“ We have long contended for a change in the system. The Government promised us, when the Canadian Pacific Railway contract came down, that the Company would save us the bulk of our then comparatively small expenditure, and that the immigration system would be carried on as in the United States by the transportation companies. But since then we have been paying much more heavily than before.

“ Now, the system of State-aided immigration has proved an entire failure, and worse.

MANY UNSUITABLE PERSONS

have come in ; many also who were not entitled to avail themselves of assistance, and many were induced to come by false re-

presentations, I do not say made by the Government, but made by energetic but not very careful individuals who were paid out of the bonus a commission by the transportation companies on each head, and who represented this as a golden land, in which employment could be found at once at high wages. These poor, deluded people often come to our doors in Toronto with pitiful representations of the stories told them in the Old Country, on the faith of which they emigrated. In our present condition there is no use trying to force immigration into the older Provinces. We adjoin the United States, and there is the utmost facility of travel accommodation between that country and our own. The condition of the labour and land markets there necessarily affect us, and if we were, by some extraordinary means, to force a large number of people into our older Provinces, just as water finds its level, so would the population, and either the new comers would flow over into the United States, or they would

DISPLACE A CERTAIN NUMBER

of our own people who would have to pass across the line. The unhappy fact is that we do not do more, if we do as much as retain our natural increase. And our labour market has, so far as relates to mechanics, been injuriously affected by the course of the Government. We in Canada employ a large immigration staff, and we pay for the publication of immense numbers of pamphlets. But the publication of these pamphlets furnishes gross instances of

THE JOBBERY WHICH FLOURISHES AT OTTAWA.

Take the case of the *Montreal Gazette*, for example. We have a Government printer, who works under a regular contract. He is bound to print whatever we require at certain fixed rates. But instead of sending the work to this contractor, newspapers friendly to the Government are employed. The principal proprietor of the *Montreal Gazette* until recently was Mr. Thomas White, who is believed to be still directly or indirectly interested in that newspaper. The transaction to which I am about to refer took place while he was a member of Parliament, but before he became a Minister. The statement was made in the House by Mr. Somerville, a practical printer. Amongst the publications of the *Montreal Gazette*, was a pamphlet on British Columbia, of which the Government ordered 460,520 copies. The price charged by the *Gazette* was \$9,211.15. Mr. Somerville estimated that this was an overcharge on the basis of the contract on ordinary rates of \$5,805.82, the proper charge being \$3,405.33. So

that is where the money goes. In this same year the *Montreal Gazette* received \$19,770 for work, almost all of which should have been done by the Government contractors, and it was stated in the House that the prices for some portions of the work were even larger in proportion than those I have mentioned. . . . The fact is plain that *the money paid for printing is used as a corruption and jobbery fund*. Scores of thousands of these pamphlets are sent, not abroad, but to our own people to promote, not the influx of settlers from abroad, but migration from one part of Canada to another. The system is vicious. The assisted immigration should be abolished, the expenditure largely curtailed, and the whole Department administered honestly and on business principles, instead of after the present fashion.

It is gratifying that the process of conversion has extended to this subject as well, and that to-day we find that, though a little while ago we were abused by the Conservative members for the suggestion we made, though so late ago as the 12th August the *Mail* itself was against us, there is now a change. The *Mail*, on 12th August said:—

“The few dollars each new arrival costs the Dominion, though much complained of in some quarters, is more than repaid the first year he is here, not alone because he brings capital with him, but because he at once becomes a consumer, and as such, an employer of labour. At the same time the immigration policy discourages the importation of labour to compete with that now in Canada.”

Mr. Blake then quoted the *Mail's* late article opposing the Immigration expenditure, and proceeded—

Gentlemen, my heart is cheered, I am greatly encouraged, when I find that after speaking for so many years on all these topics, not able, apparently, in all that time, to create the slightest impression upon the Tory mind, without the slightest sign of any good effect,

ALL AT ONCE THE DAY BREAKS,

and the light of conviction spreads and grows, and that on three important questions within a space of three days we find adhesion on the part of the chief Conservative organ itself to many of the views which we have been pressing forward. (Cheers.) How important a lesson does that teach us! It teaches us that we must not despair, no matter how stolid our Tory opponents appear to be, no matter how little they appear to realize the truth of what we say. We do not know at what moment there may be a wholesome impression made, and they may admit that they were wrong and we were right all the time, and propose to join with us in accomplishing these good ends. (Loud laughter and applause.)

LIBERALISM AND PROGRESS.

WHAT THE REFORM PARTY HAS DONE TO PROMOTE RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT.

Mr. Blake, after some introductory remarks, at Parry Sound, said :—I may be pardoned for saying that it is a subject of special pleasure to me, as well as of pride, to reflect that from my lips first proceeded the suggestion of the measure which conferred upon the vast mass of Young Liberals of Canada the franchise at an age and under circumstances earlier than those at which under previous laws they could be acquired. I thought it well to

GIVE THE YOUNG MEN A STAKE IN THE COUNTRY

by allowing them the privilege of the franchise at an early age, and so educating them up to the discharge of the noblest duties of citizenship. But I said also what I am glad to see is now realized, that it would not do that the young men of the country should have these privileges unless they felt the accompanying responsibilities, and that it was important and necessary, in order that the measure should do good instead of evil, that it should be accompanied by an increased activity and interest on the part of the young men in political affairs. Remember that in a very few years upon you will devolve the conduct of affairs in this our country, and that whether you are to have a country worth exerting yourselves for in the future will largely depend upon your exertions during the next few months. (Loud and prolonged applause.) We had a very pleasant journey to Parry Sound by road; I hope the next time I come it may be by rail. (Cheers.) There is nothing more inaccurate amidst the various inaccuracies which beset the presentation of Liberal views, when they come from Tory writers and Tory platforms, than their statement of

OUR RELATIONS TO THE PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS OF THIS COUNTRY.

To hear them sometimes you would believe that we Reformers were people who did not see any good in public improvements, and were always objecting to the country going forward. I say the very reverse of that is the case, for, regarding the Liberal party when in power or in Opposition, I state, and, what is more, I can prove, its course has been just the opposite of that. (Cheers.) It is quite true that with reference to the great work of which Mr. Cockburn has spoken, the Canadian Pacific Railway, it was

and is our belief that the work has been carried on too rapidly, and at an enormous expenditure, in part unneeded, of our public resources. We have believed, and I have stated in Parliament repeatedly, that a slower and more economical prosecution of the great work in certain parts would have enabled us to complete the enterprise with great economy of money and with a better prospect of immediate and permanent results for the road, and would have permitted us to spend in various parts of the Dominion which were already partly settled, and whose progress required in the general interest certain improvements of Dominion importance, some of those many millions which have been unnecessarily expended, in consequence of the extravagant bargain and of the unnecessary speed and expense of construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Public improvements of general consequence in these portions of the country, which bear their full share of the taxation of the country, we have always contended for, and I can point, I think, with some measure of honest pride, to the course which we took in the session of the Ontario Assembly in 1871. I was called upon to assume the responsibilities of office on the defeat of John Sandfield Macdonald's Government. At that time, as you know, \$1,500,000 of the public money had been appropriated for the purpose of aiding local railways. I investigated the situation. Called to office during a session of the Legislature, it was a difficult and laborious task, in the midst of general legislation, and carrying on public affairs in a House elected under our opponents and predecessors, to grasp the whole situation. I found, after considering the whole matter, that it would be right to

TAKE THE BOLD STEP OF ASKING FOR A LARGE INCREASE IN THE APPROPRIATION

already made. Having found that, it was my duty to run the risk. I ran the risk, and proposed that \$400,000 should be added to the amount to be given in cash, and that \$2,000,000 more should be appropriated on time, thus more than doubling—considerably more than doubling—the amount which the Legislature was enabled to devote, and by my bill pledged itself to devote, to the development of the railway facilities of the country. I was immediately called upon to deal with the application of a large portion of the fund. In some cases the materials showing the financial ability of the companies to build the railway projected were not forthcoming, but within a few weeks we proposed aid to railways which benefited almost all

THE NEWER SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY,

the then new counties of Bruce and Grey, the northern parts of Simcoe, even the southern part of what was then the Muskoka District, the counties of Victoria, Peterborough, Hastings, Addington, Frontenac, Renfrew, all the northern parts of Ontario, as far as there was any scheme projected at that time. We assisted and provided the basis upon which about two thousand miles of road have since been built, largely through these sections. I think I give you in this the best proof that the policy of the Liberal party was then a practical, progressive, bold, and vigorous policy of railway construction throughout Ontario.

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After referring to the grant for the Parry Sound Colonization Railway, Mr. Blake proceeded:—The appropriation was not in fair proportion to that granted, for example, to the Baie Chaleurs Railway. The Tories have told you that the Opposition have been for the last few years pandering to the French. They say we have been wanting to get hold of the French vote. There was a railway in the Province of Quebec aided last session as well as yours. It was this Baie Chaleurs Railway. It passes through a country easy for railway construction, following the valley of a great river. It is a country which has been settled for more than a hundred years, and is now thickly inhabited. It is a country in which, thanks to the old settlement and to the natural conditions, labour is cheap, and where the wood supply and food supply necessary are easily obtainable. It is a country where the rails can be got in cheaper than they can be got in here by a great deal. For the hundred miles of this road the Government gave an average of \$6,200 a mile, and that they gave in a specially advantageous way. They gave \$15,000 a mile for the first twenty miles, \$6,400 a mile for the second twenty miles, and \$3,200 a mile for the last sixty miles. I thought that was unjust. (Applause.) It was unnecessary. My belief was, from all I could learn, that a smaller subsidy was sufficient to secure the construction, and I, who am said to be pandering to the French and anxious to secure their votes, opposed so large a grant. (Applause.) I declared that in view of the circumstances and of the grants being made to other roads, I saw

NO GROUND FOR MAKING SO LARGE A GRANT,

but I didn't hear Mr. O'Brien say anything about it. (Applause and laughter.) He did not seem to be affected by the contrast between \$3,200 a mile for a railway for this district

and \$6,400 a mile for the Baie Chaleurs Railway. He heard my speech, but never a word did he say as to the inequality and relative injustice of these grants. I gave then something of the reason why. I will give it to you—not the reason why Mr. O'Brien didn't speak—(laughter)—but why, in my opinion, so large a grant was given to the other railway. I found that there were in the directorate of that road a few influential members of Parliament and their immediate friends and connections who had eleven-twelfths of that railway in their own hands, so that eleven-twelfths of the profit out of the railway were to be reaped by these members and their immediate connections, all strong supporters of the Government. (Applause.) I pointed out that fact to the House, I gave the names of the members and their friends and showed that in fact this was

A PARLIAMENTARY RAILWAY,

owned by a few supporters of the Government, and that the Government were putting money not required for the interests of the country, into the hands of their supporters, giving them enormous profits upon the creation of the road. I congratulate you, not with reference to the colonization railway, but with reference to the Northern Pacific Junction Railway that, as I pointed out at Huntsville, even if the bonded debt has been increased, if the tolls are heavy, if you have no larger amount to pay, you have some compensation.

DALTON M'CARTHY'S GRAB.

You have the satisfaction of knowing that a prominent member of Parliament, and a supporter of the Government, has got an easy berth with a salary of \$3,000 or \$3,500 a year as President of the Northern Pacific Junction Railway Company, practically due to the subsidy, and has made, in common with a few of the original promoters a very handsome sale of the original stock which they took up, at enormous profits, also practically paid out of the subsidy, and that a few others have made great profits out of the contract. So that if you don't get all the good out of it that you might, you know that some estimable citizens, not residents here, it is true, and in whose fortunes perhaps you do not take a very deep interest, but still some prominent members of the body politic have got their full share of the good things of this life through the agency of the railway. (Prolonged cheers and laughter.)

THE KANSAS SLANDER.

ANOTHER TORY FALSEHOOD — HOW MR. BLAKE'S ONE REFERENCE
TO KANSAS HAS BEEN DISTORTED.

Mr. BLAKE, in the course of his speech at Brantford, said :—

It has been the habit, as you know, for a great many years, for the Tory party to pay special attention to me, and in season and out of season to attack me for something said, or something alleged to be said, by me, and I have lately thought that at some of these meetings I would trespass upon my audience for a little to discuss some of these attacks. To-night I want to take a very famous sample ; I want to trouble you with a few words upon

THE GREAT SUBJECT OF KANSAS.

(Cheers.) For six years the statement has been constantly circulated by the Tory press and politicians that I was in the habit of descanting upon the superior advantages of Kansas, the greater charms of Kansas, its finer climate, its greater fertility, its superiority as a place for settlement over our own North-West, and that I recommended it as preferable to Canadians and Europeans alike. If, as they suppose, my words have hurtful weight where they are heard, they have given them the widest circulation and the greatest weight they could, and now every devoted Tory in the rank and file, I believe, supposes it is part of my daily conversation to laud Kansas and decry the North-West, and to recommend people to the one and away from the other ; indeed, I dare say they believe it is my daily morning prayer that Kansas may prosper and the North-West decay. (Cheers and laughter.) I see the *Mail* says the other day, "Fond as Mr. Blake is of sounding the praises of Kansas," and the *Brockville Times*, "Mr. Blake has long advocated the claims of Kansas as superior to the North-West for emigration." And so I might go on *ad nauseam*. And not merely their organs sound this note, but

THEIR LEADERS BLOW THE BELLOWS

and swell the doleful song. Sir John Macdonald said the other day, "We were told that the people had better go to Kansas," and added that I "had announced that Kansas was the country for profit, while Canada might be the country for sentiment." And so again I might go on *ad nauseam*. Now, I am no believer in that kind of patriotism which adopts the functions of the ambassador of old, who was "sent abroad to lie for the good of his

country. (Laughter.) I believe in the virtue of the truth, and I believe that great harm has resulted to Canada, both at home and abroad, through the adoption of other tactics. But it is one thing, where occasion calls for discussion, to speak the truth; and quite another, without cause, to give circulation to disputed and damaging assertions. *I spoke only once in my whole political career on the subject of Kansas.* (Cheers.) I spoke for cause. And if I had said what they allege I said, I submit to you that, on the Tory view of the effect of my statement, it would have been the part of patriotism, assuming my alleged statement true, to have let it die, instead of needlessly giving it for these many years the widest publicity, and so creating the greatest harm. And were my alleged statement untrue, it would still more clearly have been their duty to take the same course, and not to injure the country by the needless circulation of statements at once incorrect and damaging. (Cheers.) But what is to be said of

PATRIOTS WHO HAVE COINED A STATEMENT,

who have distorted and misapplied my words, who have themselves cooked up a mess which they call injurious, and have presented it as mine all over Canada and the world for six long years, howling all the while about the harm it was doing to dear Canada? (Cheers.) What, I say, is to be said of men who have themselves done the harm which they impute to me? (Renewed cheering.) Why, it is clear, ladies and gentlemen, that their object has been, at the expense of what they deemed the public interest, to hurt a political opponent! (Loud applause.) I leave it to you to deal with such lovers of their country. (Renewed applause.) I spoke but once—and

UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES?

In 1880 the Tory Government proposed that we should undertake the immediate construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in British Columbia and elsewhere. They declared that it could be done without cost to the country. They promised enormous immigration to the North-West and enormous receipts from sales of the public lands. Under their figures we ought to have had in Manitoba and the North-West, in 1885, about 313,000 whites; and by 1891 about 680,000 whites. Under their figures we ought to have received from the public lands \$38,600,000 in cash by 1890, and to have due and secured at the same date \$32,700,000 more. Under their figures the whole population was to take up an average of 59 acres of land per head; and Sir Charles Tupper calculated that 100,000 North-West farmers would produce

640,000,000 bushels of wheat in a year. (Loud cheers and laughter.) In support of these astounding statements, on which they asked the House to rely in agreeing to their policy, they themselves referred to and gave figures of the progress of the Western States, and particularly did they refer to the progress of the States of Kansas and Nebraska. (Cheers.) I felt that the House was being misled, that the calculations were fantastic, that the inferences were unsound, that the predictions would fail, and that the country would—unless the truth were then told—be plunged, under an entirely false impression, into enormous engagements which must be met out of loans and taxations, and not out of the resources they promised, or by the realization of the hopes the held out. *It was my bounden public duty, so believing, to show the truth; and I did show it.* (Cheers.) It was under these circumstances I spoke. Now, what did I say? They have been repeatedly challenged to produce my words, and they have not dared to do so. I will reproduce them now. This is what I said:—

I hold that it is impossible to contrast the situation of the two countries—Canada and the United States—on the general question of foreign immigration, without concluding that our future is not to be measured by the estimate of theirs. What has happened in the West with reference to them, cannot be expected reasonably to happen in our West, with reference to us, so far as the result is to be obtained by any foreign emigration. I have already stated that the foreign emigration to the United States for the decade ending 1860, was 2,600,000; for that ending 1870, 2,500,000, and for the present decade it is supposed it will amount to 2,700,000. These figures are enough to convince us that the rapidity with which western lands have been settled, so far as that rapidity is due to the direct, or indirect effects of foreign immigration, is not a rapidity which we can hope to reach in our North-West. Nor can I agree that the area of land in the United States available for settlement, although it is, no doubt, being rapidly diminished, is as yet at all reduced to such proportions, as to force the current of emigration to our North-West. There are still large areas of land in that country which are available for settlement, and which for those who happen to prefer the United States, will give them an opportunity of settling there for some years to come. The United States, in a sense, command the market in this respect. The emigration to the States, as far as I can understand, has been composed in later years to a very large extent of the Teutonic races. The Germans have played a very large part in the settlement of the United States. They exist there in very great numbers, and they exercise therein powerful influence. The same opinions which led the inhabitants of that and all the countries of Europe enjoying but partially developed constitutional Government, when deciding to leave their native lands and seek foreign shores, to choose the United States as their goal, have derived further strength from the knowledge that there are settled in the great Republic millions of their brother Germans, and the descendants of their brother Germans. It is therefore natural that we should expect, for several years to come at any rate, that the bulk of the Teutonic emigration will go, as it has gone hitherto, in the direction of the United States. The next important factor in the emigration to the United States has been from the people

of the country from which I am descended, and we know that the circumstances of that country are such that, unfortunately for us, and for the British Empire, there has been a strong impulse on the part of a very large and important part of the population of Ireland to prefer the Republic. In this case the sins of the fathers have been visited upon the children. The wrongs and injustice inflicted upon the majority of the Irish population in former days—at least the memory of those wrongs and that injustice, the recollection of transactions which no man would at this day vindicate or defend, has remained with those now on the soil, and obliterates, or at any rate obscures, in their vision, the more liberal conduct and the more just course which has animated British policy in this respect of late years. That circumstance has led to a large emigration from Ireland to the United States; and we know what the condition of Ireland still is. *But I hope for great things for Ireland, and for the Empire, from the events of the last few days.* I hope and trust that the advent to power of the Liberal party, supported by a great majority, decided Liberals and Radicals, will result in fresh measures for relief and justice to Ireland, which will tend still further to weaken her old feelings of hostility and disaffection, and to make the Empire in this regard a United Empire, I hope we shall see, among other things, a moderate measure of Home Rule for Ireland, and witness by the application of that measure the creation and maintenance of true and real bonds of union between Ireland and the rest of the so-called United Kingdom. But things being as they are, and having regard also to the financial condition of the bulk of the Irish peasantry, no wise man can expect, that within a short time, that within the next few years, there will be any serious change in the current of Irish immigration. So far as the Roman Catholic Irish are concerned, we must expect that the tide of immigration will continue for some time to set towards the United States. I hope the proportion may be diminished. I should rejoice greatly to see the Irish people recognize the advantages we offer them and establish themselves within our borders, but still I believe that for some time we cannot count on a decided change. The set of emigration has been sufficiently shown by the figures I have given, and naturally with the imperfect information available to those coming from other parts of Europe, and apart from all consideration of soil and climate, the notion of the important position and situation they would occupy under a Republican form of Government—the idea that as citizens of the great Republic they would have a greater and more active share in the government of their country—has actuated a great number of emigrants from the European Continent to choose the United States as the field where their energies and their talents could be most fully displayed, and the advantages of citizenship most fully exercised. Among the obvious material advantages presented to the minds of such persons is this:—That the National debt of the United States has been reduced in 14 years by \$603,000,000. It has been reduced by 30 per cent. of the amount at which it now stands, and that great reduction has been effected in the face of great difficulties and obstacles, and notwithstanding a period of depression which they have experienced, and which seems likely now to be followed by a period of revived prosperity—perhaps of inflation—I say that the contrast in this respect, upon which I shall take occasion later further to enlarge between the condition of the United States and that of the countries from which emigrants have come, is a contrast calculated to allure them to the Republic. Though the statistics for the current decade of the United States are not yet available, I am able to refer to some figures showing the later progress of two States especially alluded to by the hon. member for Cardwell a few days ago, Kansas and Nebraska. We were correctly told that Kansas had increased from 360,000 in 1870 to 650,000 in 1879, thus showing an increase in nine years of 490,000.

I have already pointed out the elements of which the increase in the population of the Western States is composed, and the domestic and foreign recruiting grounds from which the country draws her increase. These considerations alone show that the results in Kansas do not prove that our North-West is going to have a population of 550,000 in ten years as stated, for none of the conditions are parallel. But apart from the fact that Kansas had in 1870 360,000 of population to start with from which came a large natural increase forming an important part of the 490,000, it is to be remembered that Kansas had moreover in 1870 over 1,500 miles of railway in operation, and during the decade her railway facilities were increased to 2,300 miles. There is no doubt, I believe, that this State has shown the most remarkable development in the history of the world. In 1866 the State of Kansas was the twenty-fourth in rank in the United States as a corn producer, and in 1878 she had run up to the fourth. In 1866 she was twenty-fourth in rank as a wheat producer, and she had run up in 1878 to be almost the first in rank, producing in that year 32,000,000 bushels of wheat. With all these advantages, with all these proofs of an unexampled progress, with that large domestic and foreign recruiting ground to which I have before alluded, we find her increase of population in nine years was but 490,000, and we are told that the North-West, without the advantages which were possessed by Kansas, is to have an increase through immigration of 550,000 in eleven years. Now, Sir, I will refer to Nebraska. In that State also there has been, as the hon. member said, very rapid progress. In 1870 the population was 122,000. In 1879 it was 386,000. The increase in the nine years was 244,000. There was thus, of course, a substantial nucleus, the natural increase from which would form an immaterial part of the total increase. There was also a great domestic and foreign immigration. There was also great railway facilities throughout the period. In 1870 there were 705 miles of railway in operation, and in 1878 1,320 miles. Yet with all those advantages there was only an increase of 244,000 in the nine years, and even that increase was due to the circumstances to which I have referred which give the States a greater power of settlement than we can hope for. These are the figures for the two States which hon. gentlemen have chosen, and I believe rightly chosen, as presenting the strongest grounds for their expectation. I do not think they furnish good grounds for these expectations. I do not think that the only experience to which we can infer, having regard to the differences between the two countries, justifies us, however sanguine or fervent our hopes may be, justifies us as business men, and dealing with a business transaction, and calculating the cash returns, we may count on from the North-West lands in the next few years, in concluding that there will be an emigrant population of 550,000 in that country at the end of eleven years, and in incurring, on the faith of that result, enormous liabilities, which, if not met out of the lands, must be met otherwise. Such a thing may happen. I wish it would, but I do not think it is probable, because the experience of no other country, making allowances, proves that it can happen in our case. The statement, I think, is purely conjectural, is highly improbable, and cannot be sustained by any analogous occurrence.

Well, sir, I failed to convince the House. The policy of the Government was endorsed by the House, and afterwards by the country. But

EVENTS HAVE VERIFIED MY VIEWS.

We had, so far as can be judged, only 125,000 whites in 1885 in the North-west, instead of 313,000. We had netted a mere

trifle out of North-West lands, and any early prospects of the realization of net results from that source may be abandoned, for the First Minister himself declared the other day that the free grant lands will absorb the immigration for the next quarter of a century. If so, how much are you going to get for the sales of lands? (Cheers.) Then the surplus of wheat for export has not yet indicated the correctness of Sir Charles Tupper's calculations which are mentioned to-day only to be ridiculed. (Laughter.) We will shortly have expended on the transcontinental scheme the equivalent of \$87,000,000 paid out of the treasury, and a vast sum for interest, all payable out of taxes and loans. My words have come true. I wish from my heart that I could tell you I had been mistaken. But my words have come true. Now I have shown you the kind of advantages I mentioned, as possessed by the States, including Kansas, in calculating the rate of our immigration from the rate of theirs; the initial population, the existing railways, the home reserve for immigrants, and the European drift to the States. I have shown you the circumstances under which I spoke, to save you, if I could, from being misled into vast engagements, and deceived by delusive estimates and fallacious comparisons. I have shown you how I have ever since been belied. *I made no contrast or comparison as to soil, climate, or other physical conditions or elements of growth between the North-West and Kansas,* (Cheers.) *I did not declare that Kansas was in these respects or any like respects superior to the North-West.* (Cheers.) *I expressed the hope that the bulk of our migratory people would go to the North-West instead of to the States, and that we might in time divert a substantial part of the European emigration.* Sir, for these many years I have been doing my best to promote the real interests of the North-West, which have been checked, hampered and imperilled by misgovernment. (Cheers.) And now, but a little while ago, an article was published in the *Mail* in which they offered substantially the very views I had propounded in 1880 as to the comparative position of the two countries.

THE "MAIL" USED THIS LANGUAGE:—

We have repeated boom estimates and quoted boomsters' figures about everything, until we have created in our minds the vision of a region which does not exist anywhere on earth, and now that it has been shattered by the prosaic revelations of the census, we are weak enough to feel sorry at being undeceived. . . . The truth is that, all things considered, the population of Manitoba and the Territories is quite as large, placing it at 125,000 whites, as we had any right to expect it to be. It must be remembered that in all the new regions in the United States, the larger part of the population is American-born—hailing from the older States. There is no exception in this rule. In Dakota for instance according to the special census taken in that Territory last June, 269,700 settlers out of a total of 415,000, 75 per

cent. were native Americans; leaving only 25 per cent., or 145,000, to the credit of immigration. The same strange ethnic process is at work in our Territories, for, by the census just taken, it appears, that of a white population of 23,000, no fewer than 14,200, or a little over 60 per cent. are of Canadian origin. But if we must assume in accordance with this law, that the greater part of the future population of the North-West is to consist of the overflow from the older Provinces, then it is evident that the increase of population is sure to be slow, as compared with the increase in the newer regions across the line, since our reservoir of population is but one-tenth as large as theirs. Moreover, it is well-known that those immigrants who, next to the native-born settlers, have helped to develop Dakota and Minnesota, viz., the Scandinavians and Germans, are not to be procured for our North-West just now. They avoid our territory because they do not approve of our political institutions. This is an unpalatable truth, but there it is, and we must take account of it. The nativity tables of the foreign-born population in Dakota have not yet been compiled in detail, but the Swedes and Norwegians rank first in number, and the Germans are well up. So that being practically shut off from German and Scandinavian immigration, and having, as compared with the Americans, but a small overflow from native sources, it is manifestly absurd to expect any tremendous rate of development in our North-West just at present. Our time will come when the homestead lands in the United States are exhausted.

The article then proceeds to point out the last report of the Commissioner at Washington, showing that these reserves have shrunk to comparatively small proportions, and, after a quotation of that kind, it proceeds :—

In the course of a few years Dakota will be out of the field. The Immigration Bureau of that Territory says in one of its monthly publications (that for February) that at the end of 1885 the area of vacant Government land rated as agricultural land and open to settlement was estimated at 20,000,000 acres, of which 18,000,000 lay in Northern Dakota. For six months ending 31st December, the area of land entered on or filed was 1,524,000 acres—say 3,000,000 a year. At this rate the vacant land will be pretty well exhausted in seven years, and a most formidable competitor to Manitoba and the Territories disposed of. Canada may then surely reckon on immigration from the continent of Europe, provided efforts are made beforehand to make the people acquainted with the wealth of our resources. Meanwhile we probably need not look for any miraculous development of the North-West. There will be a steady influx of settlers from the United Kingdom, with a sprinkling from the continent of Europe; but the main stream of immigration will, doubtless, consist of young Canadians, who, but for our enterprise in opening up this great region, would find their way to the United States, where so many thousands of our people settled in the days when we had no free prairie homesteads to offer.

You thus see that

THE "MAIL" HAS ADOPTED MY ARGUMENTS OF 1880.

But I am obliged to admit that there have been some disparaging comments on the North-West; and from important quarters too. A little while ago an authority of great weight used this language :—

Cartier believed that Manitoba and the North-West could be made a French Province. A sudden rush of immigrants from Ontario and from England into the North-West upset that calculation for a while; but it is now clear that henceforth there will be no more rushes. The North-West will doubtless receive a fair share of English-speaking settlers every year, but we may safely abandon the boomster's dream, Europe transferring itself bodily to the plains in order to pursue the cultivation of No. 1 hard. Development will be comparatively slow, for the climate is against a miraculous expansion, and the competition of the North-Western, Western, Pacific, South-Western, and Southern States, with their infinite variety of products and climate must, for many years to come, stand in the way of the rapid peopling of our territory. So that, as a French speaker in Manitoba contended not long ago, Cartier's scheme is still quite feasible, since, if any one race be better fitted than another to take permanent root under a semi-Arctic snow, where thrift, endurance, and the faculty of being content with little are called for, it is the French-Canadian.

The same great authority, on a recent date, used this language:—

It is only fair to add, however, that in all probability the Government now in power has taken too sanguine a view of the North-West development. It has been the habit, in making up calculations of future progress, to ignore the fact that Minnesota and Dakota offer to the poorer class of settlers advantages fully equal to those held out by Manitoba, while the Western, South-Western, and Southern States present to the well-to-do immigrant, who can afford to choose his climate, an infinite and incomparable variety of attractions.

Who do you think has been guilty of the want of patriotism involved in this language? Some Grit, of course! Some Grit it must have been! No one but a Grit would talk like that! I do not know, in the present state of things, whether it was or not, you shall judge for yourselves! I can only tell you it was the *Mail* newspaper! (Loud and prolonged laughter and applause.) Can you believe it? Here we find the fatal competition of the North-Western, Western, Pacific, South-Western, and Southern States, with their infinite variety of products and climates! Here we find the statement that Minnesota and Dakota offer to the poorer class of settlers advantages fully equal to those held out by Manitoba, while the Western, South-Western and Southern States present to the well-to-do immigrant, who can afford to choose his climate, an infinite and incomparable variety of attractions! The language is not only positive, it is not only comparative, it is superlative! The writer absolutely revels in the advantages of the States. They are infinite, they are incomparable, they are overwhelming.

And all are fish that come to this net!

Do we find a poor settler? He will have in Minnesota and Dakota advantages fully equal to those in Manitoba!

Do we spy out a well-to-do settler? He is pointed to the Western, South-Western, and Southern States, as offering an infinite and incomparable variety of attractions!

Do you want a climate? Then go there! Do you want products? Then go there!

But when the *Mail* turns to the North-West, which has already been condemned as inferior to those more favoured lands, what are the expressions of eulogy and hope, what is the attractive description of that country? "The climate is against a miraculous expansion;" "the competition of the States must for many years to come stand in the way of the rapid peopling of the North-West." "The region is under a semi-Arctic sun, where thrift, endurance, and the faculty of being content with little are called for."

AND LAST AND WORST OF ALL,

you have it suggested that this Siberia, with its semi-Arctic sun, is best fitted for those deadly enemies of the *Mail*, that race it fears so much, and whose institutions it desires to subvert, the French-Canadians! The French-Canadians, whom the *Mail* sometimes wants to send to the North Pole, and sometimes to a much warmer, but even less agreeable climate. (Cheers and laughter.)

Now, I am not going to discuss the accuracy of these statements. *They may be true, even though the Mail has said them.* (Laughter.)

But, if it were I who had said them, how would the Tories rage, and the heathen imagine a vain thing? (Loud and prolonged laughter.) And so I leave the subject. I THINK IT IS WORTH DISCUSSING AS AN EXEMPLIFICATION OF TORY TRUTHFULNESS, TORY PATRIOTISM, AND TORY FAIR PLAY. THE TRUTH IS, THAT WHILE THE TORIES HAVE BEEN SPENDING THEIR TIME CIRCULATING SLANDERS ABOUT ME, THE LIBERAL PARTY HAS BEEN DOING ITS BEST TO PROMOTE THE REAL INTERESTS OF THE NORTH-WEST, AND TO AVERT THE ILLS OF TORY RULE. (Loud cheers.)

A SEA OF MOUNTAINS.

MR. BLAKE REPLIES TO HIS ACCUSERS.

Eleven Years of Calumny borne in silence—The time for Speech has come—A complete answer to the Stock Tory Charge, “Want of Patriotism.”

Hon. EDWARD BLAKE, in the course of his speech at Listowel, said:—It has occurred to me that it might be well to take a minute to point out some of the misrepresentations and perversions of my words; and some of the unjust attacks made upon me by the Tories for words said—attacks which have done them excellent service for years, in the sort of war they wage. Sometimes *they pervert and distort an innocent phrase* I may have used; and so make me out a wrong-doer. Sometimes,

WITHOUT ALTERING THE PHRASE,

they treat it, though true and innocent, as if it were false and criminal. The sentence I am going to discuss to-night is a very short one; and I must admit I am correctly quoted, though with an inaccurate context. Doubtless you all have heard of the high crime and misdemeanour I committed ten or twelve years ago in describing the mainland of British Columbia through which the Canadian Pacific Railway was to pass, as a “sea of mountains.” I said it but once. Yet it has been constantly in the newspapers and in the mouths of Tory orators ever since. (Laughter.) The Tory newspapers have spoken of me here, there, and everywhere, as having committed a most outrageous act in calling British Columbia a sea of mountains, and I observe that both Sir John Macdonald and Mr. White when they were at Victoria the other day referred once and again to this outrage of mine. They have done all they could to create prejudice and hostility against me on the part of my fellow-countrymen in the western portion of the Dominion because I called British Columbia a sea of mountains. I did call it a “sea of mountains;” that is quite true; but I did so in this connection and under these circumstances: I was speaking in 1874 of the bargain made by Sir John Macdonald to construct the railway within a limited time; I was pointing out the difficulties attending its construction; and discussing British Columbia from an engineering point of view, as a country through which the railway was to be pushed, I called it a sea of mountains. *And now after eleven years, I repeat the phrase, and maintain its*

fitness. The phrase was not, as you all know, original—it was not my own invention. That was not pretended. But how as to its application to British Columbia? Well! I am afraid

I CAN'T EVEN CLAIM CREDIT FOR ORIGINALITY

in that. I am afraid I cannot honestly say I was the first person to apply the term “sea of mountains” to British Columbia. Where shall you find it earlier? Whence was it drawn? I will tell you. Look at a book called “FROM OCEAN TO OCEAN,” the record of Mr. Sandford Fleming’s expedition as a Government officer, as engineer-in-chief of the Canadian Pacific Railway under the Tory Government in 1872, look at this book, the diary of the secretary of that expedition, a Government officer, the Rev. George M. Grant, now widely known as Principal Grant of Queen’s University, Kingston; look at this book, *copies of which were distributed by the Tory Government free of charge*; copies of which were supplied to the members of Parliament at the expense of the public, because *it was thought of public consequence that it should be widely read.* Look, I say, at this book, and you will find the reverend secretary declare in the preface that he tells “a round unvarnished tale,” and expresses the hope that “its truthfulness may compensate for its defects,” and then turn to the description of British Columbia and you will hear him state:—

“THE GREATER PART OF THE MAINLAND IS A SEA OF MOUNTAINS.”

(Cheers and laughter.) Am I then to blame for adopting the phrase of the Tory Government officer in describing the country, as found on a Government expedition to spy out the land in regard to its railway characteristics? No! Let them go crucify Dr. Grant! (Cheers and laughter.) Once again let me refer you to a very lively work, Lord Dufferin’s Travels in British Columbia, admirably written by Mr. Molyneux St. John, of which the title, strange to say, is, “The Sea of Mountains.” (Cheers and laughter.) The author says:—

In Victoria they have taken with bad grace Mr. Blake’s perfectly justifiable remark about “A Sea of Mountains.” But he might with perfect truth have spoken of Bute Inlet as a sea of mountains in a gale of wind.

(Cheers and laughter.) Again, I find in a recent issue of a periodical of very extensive circulation an article speaking of the Canadian Pacific Railway and its route, in the most laudatory terms in every point of view, so laudatory that the uncharitable might even be tempted to suppose that it was in some degree inspired, a

DESCRIPTION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Let me read some extracts from it :—

Into the Province of British Columbia are packed together in half a dozen stupendous ranks, separated by narrow valleys, all the mountain ranges in Western America. We cross in succession the Rockies, the Selkirks, the Gold, Okanagan, and coast ranges by a route 650 miles in length, though the breadth measured in a straight line hardly exceeds 400 miles, and during the whole time are in the midst of snow-crowned monarchs.

Here, then, are 650 miles of mountains heaped against, and over one another in Titanic masses, ever present to the traveller, and ever changing its aspect, a "great sea of mountains" that can be likened to no other on earth. Rising more than two miles above the sea, these mountains are cleft to the base by the passes that are followed by the railway, and their whole dizzy height is seen at once. Far up on their shoulders, in full view from the train, rest many glaciers, by the side of which those of the Alps would be insignificant.

For thirty-two hours the traveller rolls along this great and varied mountain panorama without losing the wonderful scene for a minute.

Lastly, in the report of the Directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway for 1886, I find the statement that the "Company had built 2,400 miles of railway, embracing in the Lake Superior and Mountain sections"—they call the part through British Columbia the "Mountain section"—they had built "many hundreds of miles of the most difficult railway work to be found on either side of the Atlantic." Now, if it were the fact that I had been betrayed out of my own head into the use of too strong a phrase, of a phrase which, being exaggerated, was thought unjust and harmful to British Columbia, would you not expect from such patriots as the Tories, who are constantly deprecating the utterance even of truth if it be disagreeable to them, on the score of its being injurious to the country, *would you not, I say, expect from these patriots silence as to my slip, instead of that constant parade of it year in and year out, that persistent keeping of it before the public, that forcing of it into the widest circulation that blazoning it abroad over the world, that rolling of it as a sweet morsel under their tongues, which you have witnessed these many years?* If harm could come of it, that harm was one to be intensified a thousandfold by their action. But they did not care! They wanted only to get a slap at me, regardless of the harm, which, on their own showing, they were doing to the country! But I made no slip. Least of all did I make a slip of which they could complain. They have at last, by their attacks in Victoria, induced me to speak again. I made no slip. I used the words of their own officer, found in the book they sent me for my information. And

HIS WORDS WERE TRUE.

If I have not shown you that according to the common usages of speech, and on the faith of Dr. Grant's book, I was justified in describing the mainland of British Columbia, from a railway point of view, by the well-known phrase, "a sea of mountains," I shall despair of convincing you of aught else to-night. And if I have felt constrained at length to bring forward my justification, and thus, for the second time to use that well-worn phrase, I trust you will admit that eleven years of abuse, culminating in a series of attacks at Victoria, by the Ministers of the Crown, justify my speaking now, and throw the dreadful consequences—if dreadful consequences there be—on the heads of my accusers, who are, as I have shown, *themselves the persons really responsible for the whole business.* (Loud and prolonged applause.)

(8)

The Calumniators of Mr. Mackenzie.

HOW THEY VILIFIED HIM.

They accused him of Dishonesty. Now they laud him for Purity. But Gerrymandered his Constituency.

"THANK GOD, MR. MACKENZIE'S REPUTATION DOES NOT DEPEND ON THE COMMENDATIONS OF SIR JOHN MACDONALD."

Hon. Edward Blake in his speech at Wingham, after some preliminary remarks, said:—

We public men, who from time to time have occupied the leading positions in the Liberal party, while we are indebted to our friends and supporters for generous expression of sympathy and confidence such as have been accorded me to-day, have not, I think, as a rule, while still entrusted with the discharge of the foremost duty, received from our political opponents that measure of fair play and just consideration which we had the right to expect. I dare say there are here in this meeting, seeing that the riding is very equally divided—I hope there are here, a good many Conservatives; I always like to see them at my meetings. My anxiety, in truth, is rather greater to get within reach of those on the other side than to reach my own friends. If a man believes he is speaking the truth, if he thinks he has a message to give, he ought to wish to reach the ears of those opposed to him, and through their ears to reach their minds and hearts. (Loud cheers.) To them I speak, and say that the public life of our country has been injured by the system of

FALSE AND CALUMNIOUS ATTACK

which has been adopted towards the Liberal leaders. A friend of mine at the opening of the London Young Liberal Club last night, said there was a time at which the Liberal leaders always received a tribute of respect from the Tory leaders, and that was when they were no longer in the forefront of the fight; but just so long as they were conducting the party they had been and

would be exposed to unjust and unfounded attack. (Cheers.) Will you allow me to take the

PROMINENT AND STRIKING EXAMPLE

of our respected friend, Mr. Mackenzie. You have not forgotten the storm of abuse and calumny which was hurled against Mr. Mackenzie for the many years during which he was our leader. Not merely was he charged with incapacity; he was charged with dishonesty, corruption, disgraceful conduct utterly unworthy of a public man. Let me give you some examples. Not examples from newspapers, not examples from the rank and file, examples from the lips of a man of no less prominence than the leader of the Conservative party himself, the present Prime Minister of Canada. You recollect the election of 1872, when Mr. Mackenzie occupied the double position of Treasurer of Ontario in the Reform Government, of which I was First Minister, and of leader of the Liberal party in the Canadian Parliament. At Lindsay Sir John said, during that election:—

“He did not doubt that large sums had been raised as a corruption fund among persons interested in timber licenses under the Ontario Government, or by other such means. Already a case had been made out against them which would demand legislation of the most stringent kind * * * These matters would undoubtedly come before Parliament at its next session.

There is a distinct, positive, direct charge against Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues in the Government of Ontario of a corrupt use for election purposes of the public domain, and a pledge that the matter would be brought before Parliament at the next session. Next session came; many other sessions have followed it

SIR JOHN HAS BEEN CHALLENGED

to bring forward his proof; but I need not tell you he has never redeemed his pledge.

In Toronto in the same year he said:

“Mr. Mackenzie had gone down to Nova Scotia and made a corrupt bargain with Mr. Annand by which he was to aid in getting \$84,000 for the Provincial Building at Halifax, on condition that the Government of Nova Scotia was to act against the Government of the Dominion.”

There is another charge of corruption. At Kingston, for which city Sir John Macdonald was then standing, the report of the nomination proceedings is thus:—

“Mr. Britton followed, and during his speech Sir John, who appeared to be much excited, walked over to Mr. Carruthers and accused him of some discreditable oil speculation, which Mr. Carruthers denied. Sir John then repeated the accusation and intimated that he could prove that Mr. Carruthers was implicated in an oil swindle in company with the Hon. A. Mackenzie.

“Mr. Carruthers denied the charge in forcible language.

“Sir John gave him a back-handed slap in the face, and attempted to take him by the throat before Mr. Carruthers could retaliate.”

Shortly afterwards at Sarnia, in Mr. Mackenzie's own riding, these gentlemen met, and Mr. Mackenzie speaking before Sir John is thus reported :—

“He was going to call Sir John Macdonald his friend as formerly, but until the hon. gentleman retracted a certain expression he had used on the hustings at Kingston he would not do so.

“Sir J. M.—I certainly will not retract it.

“Mr. M. said he defied the hon. gentleman to prove it, and until he did so or withdrew it he would treat him as a slanderer.

“Sir J. M.—Everybody knows it in this part of the country.”

So you see Sir John declined to retract and equally declined

THE IMPOSSIBLE TASK OF PROOF.

Shortly afterwards Sir John Macdonald spoke thus :—

“He (Mr. Mackenzie) had been tried in that capacity (*i.e.* as a Minister) and he (Sir John) had no hesitation in saying that the Government to which Mr. Mackenzie belonged was more false, more faithless and more corrupt than any Government that ever existed in Canada. (Great cheering.)

“Some years since a Bill had been introduced in Parliament by Mr. Mackenzie, who had been the exponent and touter of a ring to rob the Indians, by which a number of old claims by tavern-keepers and others against the poor Indians had been revived and made valid. That Bill had nearly passed into law, but the truth had been declared by Mr. Morris, now the Chief Justice of Manitoba. He (Sir John) had the authority of Mr. Morris, who was a man of honour, for stating that Mr. Mackenzie walked across the floor of the House, and shaking his fist in Mr. Morris' face, had said he would never forgive him for it.

“Mr. Mackenzie (from the back of the platform)—That is a lie.

“Sir John Macdonald said he had not got through yet. That man, who was the leader of the Opposition, and who ought to have some respect for himself, had been the chairman of the Printing Committee and the touter and paid servant of Messrs. Hunter, Rose & Co. It was Mr. T. R. Ferguson who had caught him and exposed him. Then, coming down a little further, Mr. Mackenzie had come out as the touter of a petroleum ring in order to raise the price of oil. The secret of the bargain between him and the oil kings he (Sir John) did not know, but this he did know, that he had urged upon Sir John Rose, at that time Finance Minister, the imposition of an excise duty upon petroleum, and he had sold himself deliberately for that price. (Cheers and counter cheers.) He (Sir John) went on to charge the Government of the Province with using its powers corruptly by granting silver lands in Western Canada in return for assistance at these elections. This would be proved before a committee of the House during the next session of Parliament. (Cheers.) If it were the case, then he would ask whether Mr. Mackenzie was a proper man to represent the constituency of Lambton? (Loud cries of no and yes.)

Well, I felt bound, when charges of this nature were being hurled against my friend and colleague from one end of the country to the other, to express my opinions, and in South Bruce I did so. I prefer to quote rather than to summarize my words. This is what I said :—

“ I have been connected for five years in the House of Commons, and for the last year in the Local Legislature as well, with my friend Mr. Alexander Mackenzie—(hear, hear)—who has throughout taken a leading part in Opposition in the House of Commons up to this time, and has assumed office with me in the Local Legislature. Mr. Mackenzie has been more intimately thrown together with me for the last five years than, perhaps, with any other public man. Our intercourse has been most constant, cordial, and unrestrained; and there is nothing in my public life to which I can refer as having given me pain—and there are many circumstances which have given me pain—which does not sink into insignificance at the pain which I have felt at the unjust observations and gross attacks which have been made upon my friend on recent occasions. I have this to say, that when I was called upon to form a Government, I felt it necessary in the interests of the country that my hands should be strengthened by my friend taking office with me, and the greatest difficulty that I found in the formation of that Government was to persuade Mr. Mackenzie to assume the position he now so worthily fills, of Treasurer of Ontario. Not that he was unwilling—he had always been willing—to make any sacrifice in his power for the sake of his country, and of that party with which he felt the great interests of the country were identified, but that his own views of his public duty led him to hesitate. He offered his support to the Government outside the Cabinet, but he desired that I would not ask him to take office, and it was with the utmost reluctance that he had at length consented. I have found him the truest and most faithful of friends and colleagues. Efforts have been made by the adversary to weaken his position in the Legislature at Ottawa, and observations have gone abroad with reference to my relations with him, which have given great pain to me. It has been said that I am desirous of withdrawing from the Local Legislature, in order to obtain a leading position in the Commons. My only desire is to go there to assist my friend Mr. Mackenzie, as his faithful supporter in the future, as I trust I have been in the past. I have no ambition to be any other thing than a private member of Parliament. I believe in party government. I am a party man, and belong to a party to which I intend to stick as long as it carries out its principles. My personal desire has always been to act in the ranks, and along with the ranks of that party, and in no other or more prominent capacity; and in that position I shall find myself if returned to the House of Commons on a future occasion; and I have told my friends that whether on the left hand or on the right hand of the Speaker, my place must be in the ranks. I have to say to you and to my countrymen generally, that of all the public men whom I have met—and I have observed, I hope, not unfairly but closely, the men of both sides—I know no man of equal diligence, of equal self-sacrifice, of greater integrity, of a nicer sense of public and private virtue, no man more sternly devoted to the cause which he in his conscience believed to be right, and more willingly and incessantly lending his ever effort to the success of that cause, than my friend Mr. Mackenzie, whom we are all proud to acknowledge as one of the most prominent public men in the Dominion of Canada, and for whose good and great qualities my own admiration has been intensified by time.”

* * * * *

In the fall of the same year I dealt with the general subject thus:—

“ I have been subjected, like my friends, to a sort of political warfare of the most unwarranted description. I have seen by the press that Sir John Macdonald has stooped to say, ‘ Why, look at my Government, were ever such charges made against my Government as are made against these men ? ’

The more shame to him ! It is the boast of the Liberal party that they do not make charges which they cannot substantiate. It is to the shame of Sir John Macdonald that foundationless charges, which, if true, would have been enough to damn the fair fame of any public man, should have been made against my colleagues and myself, not one of which has hurt us in the slightest degree. A general policy of slander, such as has been adopted by Sir John Macdonald and his organs, must be repudiated by the respectable people of this country, if they expect respectable men to remain in public life."

Not long after, we attained power, and Mr. Mackenzie became Prime Minister, and

THE STORM OF CALUMNY

was raging still. The old tales were repeated and new ones invented. There was the Goderich Harbour affair, with respect to which Sir John Macdonald, having during the recess made violent charges, in Parliament used these words :—

... "The Prime Minister was informed by Mr. Stirton that Mr. Tolton was a good, competent, and wealthy man, and that his sureties were men of wealth. The hon. gentleman possessed that information, but he did not convey it to Mr. Page, who was wandering in ignorance all the time."

... "The difficulty experienced by Mr. Page with regard to Mr. Tolton would have been at once removed if the hon. the Premier had handed over a telegram he had received from Mr. Stirton. Why were those circumstances withheld from Mr. Page? It was difficult to understand why Mr. Moore should be favoured. The letter written by the hon. the Minister of Justice was highly creditable to him—it was a letter which Mr. Moore had a right to ask from him. Mr. Moore supported the hon. the Minister of Justice, as a candidate for North Bruce, in 1867. He was, therefore, a friend of the hon. gentleman, and had a right to receive a letter stating all the hon. gentleman could honestly state. The hon. the Minister of Justice was not in any way personally responsible for the loss of those \$29,000 to the country.

... "The hon. the Minister of Public Works was justly chargeable with having given a contractor \$29,000 more than the sum for which another competent man would have executed the work. He submitted the case to the House as it appeared from the papers submitted, and he held that no hon. member could honestly say that under the circumstances Mr. Tolton should not have received the contract. . . . With regard to the statement he (Sir John Macdonald) had made that the Department had acted with undue favour towards some of his own friends, there was one instance ; it had been shown that Mr. Moore was a political friend, and that no doubt \$29,000 had been lost to the country, and before the session closed he would feel it his duty to submit to the House other cases of a similar character. The House and the country could come to no other conclusion than that \$29,000 of the public money had been thrown away.

You recollect the charge with reference to the steel rails—the charge that Mr. Mackenzie had made a bargain, not merely bad, but with corrupt motives, to favour a relative ; you recollect the charges of favouritism and wrong with regard to the Fort William town site and the Neebing Hotel, and others which it would be tedious to detail. This—this was the course pursued while Mr. Mackenzie

was our leader ; but now that, unhappily for his party and unhappily for the country, our friend is rather laid aside by illness ; now that the condition of his general health and the feebleness of his voice prevents him from taking as prominent and effective a part in the conduct of public affairs as in former days, now, forsooth, they acknowledge that these charges were false and calumnious. Sir John Macdonald, for example, at London the other day, declared that Mr. Mackenzie was, and is an honest man, and that he acted to the best of his judgment. So say they all now !

THANK GOD, MR. MACKENZIE'S REPUTATION DOES NOT DEPEND ON
THE COMMENDATIONS OF SIR JOHN MACDONALD.

He is gratified, no doubt, at those avowals, and doubtless he also understands, as you do, and despises, as you do, the motive which prompts his former slanderers to-day. The motive is palpable, and it is as mean as it is palpable. I have had to answer once or twice the charges or insinuations against me which generally accompany these encomiums and retractions.

I will read you the answer I gave Sir John Macdonald in Parliament in 1881, and which I repeat to-day :—

“I have borne in silence, from an anxiety not to trouble the House with personal observations, from a feeling that a man who takes a leading part must endure in silence a great many aspersions, the insinuations which from time to time have been made by the hon. gentleman's followers on that topic. But a sensible man—to compare great things with very small ones—who, passing through the village streets, finds himself assailed by a pack of village dogs, will not, of course, turn round and heed their barking at his heels. While he takes that attitude towards the pack, if the master of the pack assails him he may be well entitled to answer his challenge.

“Sir, I have to say with regard to the hon. gentleman's statement that I supplanted the hon. member for Lambton in the office of leader of the Liberal party which I now occupy, that that statement could not within his knowledge be true, and that it possesses in itself not one particle of foundation. I am not about to enter into lengthy details, but my views with respect to positions of leadership or of place and power are tolerably well known to all who are good enough to interest themselves in my public career, and are best known to those who know me best ; and they know well that I have never invited any position of that kind ; that on the contrary, I have always shunned it ; that I assumed this position with the utmost reluctance, and, if I had the wishing-cap of Fortunatus for one moment, the wish I would use it to accomplish would be that the path of honour and duty might lead me to retire from this position. But, sir, while that is so, and while the only thing that abates my desire to see hon. gentlemen opposite defeated, is the reflection that their defeat would involve my accession to office, I will use it, so long as I am entrusted with a position of influence such as I now occupy, with a desire to effect some share of good for the country in which I live. It is but the hope that I may to some extent increase the happiness and advance the prosperity of my countrymen that nerves me to my task.”

I wish, however, that these fair words of our opponents were accompanied by a little measure of fair deeds. Whatever they

say, they do not act in the same way. They first gerrymandered the riding of East York, the chosen constituency of Mr. Mackenzie. They failed to win. Then they Morganized that gerrymandered riding under the infamous Franchise Act. And now they are trying to Boultbody the riding! They are seeking not merely to defeat Mr. Mackenzie, but to defeat him by Alfred Boultbody! But for this they must have the consent of the electors, and in that gerrymandered and Morganized constituency I have every reason to believe there is left an

AMPLE RESERVE OF PUBLIC SPIRIT

to assure us a victory. I rejoice to see that our friend has accepted the nomination, and I read the other day, as I am sure you did, with emotion the brief but patriotic speech he made to the Convention. The circumstances were moving. They reminded me of the lines the poet puts in the mouth of an old hero and statesman, speaking to his comrades in his declining years :

Though much is taken much abides ; and though
We are not now that strength which in old days
Moved earth and heaven, that which we are we are ;
One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will,
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield !

(Loud cheers.) I am sure we all wish for him a grand success in his contest against the arbitrary, unconstitutional and improper course of the Conservative party, directed to his defeat. I am glad to observe by a western paper that the new departure of the MAIL is to include a declaration in favour of Mr. Mackenzie. (Laughter.) It would be a disgrace to East York and to Canada if Alfred Boultbody should be elected over the head of such a man. (Cheers.) I have heard from various quarters in the riding, and I believe it to be true, that many Conservatives have declared their intention of voting for our friend. He will be elected ; his country will have the benefit of the important services he can yet give without impairing further the strength which he has already overtaxed in his country's cause. (Cheers.) I have thought it well to give you this little history of the conduct of the Conservative party towards a leader of the Liberal party, and I would ask you Conservatives who may be here whether you regard this as worthy conduct? I ask you Reformers who may be here to remember, in other cases and under other circumstances, when you hear charges hurled at those whom at the moment you have placed in the forefront of the battle, to remember these instances I have brought before you. Remember that for these many long years the leaders of the Liberal party

for the time being have been met with calumnies, which, in this case as in others, have after a long interval been acknowledged to be foundationless. * Remember this, and call for proof and unquestionable proof before you allow your allegiance to be in the least shaken by the false accusers who have acted in such an unworthy way, and who have so lately confessed their shame. (Cheers.)

The Eminent Services of Sir Richard Cartwright.

At Stayner MR. BLAKE said :—

I did not know that you had a prophet in Stayner. (Laughter.) Sir John Macdonald said before the election of 1882 that there was nothing so uncertain as an election except a horse race. (Renewed laughter.) But your chairman seems to know quite well what the result of the election is going to be. He is wiser than I am, though I believe he is right. But this much is clear—the result of the election will depend largely upon the degree of exertion put forward by those not merely in the lead, but in the rank and file of the Liberal party. You have the fate of the election largely in your own hands, and you and I must keep that in mind from this time until the elections are over. We have

A PLAIN DUTY TO DISCHARGE—

to do our best to win, in the hope and belief, strengthened and encouraged by the signs of the times, that our course being just and righteous it will be crowned with victory ; and thus believing, if we do our best we shall, even at the worst, have nothing for which to blame ourselves ; but, I repeat, we stand to win. (Cheers.) The chairman has alluded in terms of deserved praise to my able colleagues. We have in the ranks of our party many strong men, who are doing their very best, co-operating strenuously with their unworthy leader in the effort to set matters in their true light before the electorate, and to guide Canada to a brighter career than that which has been her fortune lately. We have upon the platform some of these able men. We have elsewhere numbers who, at a considerable sacrifice of time, ease, and money, are devoting themselves to the public cause. (Applause.) I shall not name these men, their names are familiar in your

mouths as household words. I will refer to only one of them particularly, an especial aversion of the Conservative party,

SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT—

(loud cheers)—with regard to whom they seem to have some particular grievance, because, years ago, when the Reform party were in a minority in Parliament, with little prospect of its early conversion into a majority, he, from motives of conviction most honourable to himself, left the Tory ranks, came over to us, and assisted in the accomplishment of the triumph, which, a few years later, we realized. The Tories feel that his example is a dangerous one, and ever since he has been the subject of violent attack, upon all possible occasions. The favourite story just now is that he is being deserted by his friends, the Reformers, who will not offer him a constituency. (Laughter.) Sir R. Cartwright is not a man to whom a seat in Parliament, however honourable, is essential. He has in the course of his public duty made many sacrifices of private, personal and family interests. He has work to do in the world, whether he be in Parliament or not. He has more than once suggested to me a temporary retirement as convenient to him personally, but I have strongly opposed any such plan. I hope and trust that the Reformers of Ontario will consider it their duty and privilege to provide him with a seat, and a safe seat, too; in one of the hives, as they are called; not because he is not one of our strongest combatants, but just because he is one whose services I want throughout the constituencies during the stress of the general election, so that instead of fighting the battle in some one riding, he may fight at large all along the line, as I do myself on these occasions. (Cheers.) I have this only to say—

DO NOT BELIEVE THE STORIES

you read of there being any lack of accord between the Reformers and Sir Richard Cartwright. He has done great service to the Liberal cause, and he is capable of doing more. He has great claims upon us. (Loud applause.) We are not ungrateful. We recognize those services and those claims—(cheers)—and we know that what he has done in the past will be more than equalled by his performance in the future.

An election is going on to-day for the county of Haldimand. The date of this election, as compared with that of Chambly, emphasizes what I must call the

INDECENY OF THE CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNMENT

in this regard. Many months ago, early last session, all our hearts

were filled with sadness by the death of Mr. Thompson, who had represented Haldimand for many years. The writ was moved and the Speaker's warrant ordered. It duly issued. But the law devolves the duty upon the Government of naming the returning officer and the date of election. That duty they did not discharge, and the writ therefore could not be issued. Dr. Landerkin asked the Government why the instructions had not been given. They asked for time, once and again. After a week's pressure Sir John Macdonald gave the answer. He said that a large number of persons had been lately accorded the right of franchise, that the rolls were being made up and would shortly be completed, that there was no pressing necessity for an election, as the member could not be returned before the end of the session, and that it would be an injustice, an insult to the new electorate who were not yet in a position to vote, the rolls not having been made up, to press on the election. He therefore proposed to delay the writ, and said that if his opinion were challenged, he would ask the House to agree to

SUSPEND THE ISSUE OF THE WRIT.

I felt that there was reason for that view, though it was inconvenient, and perhaps a strain on the constitution. True, the new electors were mainly Indians, wards of Sir John Macdonald, but yet I did not like the idea of the new electors, whatever their views might be, being deprived of the right to vote. I therefore did not resist the view that the election should stand, and the House thus adopted the principle of the Government without dissent. But some months later the Government appointed the

MEMBER FOR CHAMBLY

to an office which had practically been vacant for many months, if not for years, and *they immediately issued the writ for Chambly*. The new lists were just about completed; the new electorate was just about to acquire its title; the circumstances were the same as in Haldimand, only more glaring, because the issue of the writ in Chambly was hurried on, while in Haldimand, where a vacancy had existed for months, it was delayed. I ask Conservatives—because I appeal to Conservatives as well as to Reformers, believing that among them are men willing to consider these things on the principles of fair play and even-handed justice—what consistency is there in this? I ask whether this is even-handed justice and fair play; whether it is consistent with the declaration made in the case of Haldimand; the pledge made in the case of Haldimand; the principle laid down in the case of

Haldimand; the line of action agreed to in the case of Haldimand; that the Government should use their power—for they are supreme when Parliament is not in session—to spring an election in another county on the old lists, postponing the election in Haldimand for the new lists, just because they knew that the added vote would be unfavourable to them in one case, and would be in their favour in the other? (Cheers.)

IS THAT FAIR PLAY?

Is it not clear that the Government which is appointed in this respect to act for all the people, not for one party, but for both, is prostituting its power, and degrading its trust to base party purposes? (Cheers.) The election in Haldimand is going on to-day, and a great factor in the election is the vote of the Indians. You are aware that the Reformers objected to the Franchise Bill very strongly, and amongst other things, because it conferred the vote upon the unemancipated Indians. Our position on that question has been grossly mis-stated. We, as Reformers and Liberals could not but be anxious that all worthy, capable, and really free citizens should have the franchise. That is a fundamental principle of ours. Nor could we be otherwise than sympathetic with the Indian, the original possessor of the soil, and anxious for his elevation and advancement. Our main objection is this—that the Indian is not yet emancipated, that the laws are such as leave him in a state of of tutelage, that he is not, as you voters are, a free man, but that he is largely under the control of the Government of the day, through the medium of the Chief Superintendent, who in this case is the First Minister himself; and *we contend that so long as the Government keep him in such an inferior position, so long it is not fitting for him or for the community that he should have nominally, what in many cases he will not have really, the rights that belong to the ordinary citizen; so long it is not proper to give him what you call the Franchise, but what is not really in his case a franchise.*

WHAT DOES FRANCHISE MEAN?

It means freedom, the right to give a free and independent vote. To enjoy that right you must be a free and independent man, you must be truly a citizen, and so long as you are under tutelage, and a ward of the Government, the franchise is no boon to you. It is something you may be able to sell, something you may be able to barter away, something you may exchange for the hope of the favour of your guardian and protector and controller, but it is not a real boon to you; it neither elevates you nor profits the community at large. The Chief Superintendent is to the Indians their

guide and guardian, the dispenser of bounty from the general funds in case there be sickness or distress. He may give them money or goods if he finds they need them. He controls their lands and the titles under which they hold them, and changes in title require his consent. How free would you consider yourself if there were an officer of the Government whom you were obliged to consult before you could mortgage your property or sell it? (Cheers.)

THE SUPERINTENDENT-GENERAL'S CONSENT

is required to validate an Indian's will, which would be valid were he a white. He has control of the guardianship of their children. His consent is necessary to their enfranchisement. For it is recognized by the law that the Indian is not now enfranchised, and there is provision in the Indian Advancement Act by which he may be enfranchised and placed in something like the position of a white citizen. After long and careful probation, after the Superintendent-General consents, and after a time of three years' trial, if after all that he is found worthy, he may acquire some, but some only, of those rights which you and I have now. The Superintendent-General's assent to the by-laws of their Council is necessary to their validity; he

DISQUALIFIES AND REMOVES

their councillors. If he thinks a councillor, though elected, is not fit to occupy that position, he turns him out. What would you think of your degree of freedom if, after you had elected a township councillor, a member of the Government should have the power to say, "I don't think this man a good councillor, he is not fit to occupy the position, I turn him out"? (Cheers and laughter.) The Superintendent-General is the man who does all this and much more for the Indians; they call him in many parts their "father." (Loud laughter.) And they consider him the representative of their "great Mother," the Queen. Of course we know that in truth that representative is the Governor-General, who is above and beyond parties, but these people are told by some of their guides that they are to regard Sir John as their "father," their great chief, and the representative of the "great Mother." Many of them cannot read, and for these the ballot is no protection at all, because they must be assisted in marking their ballot, and it must be known how they vote. And just remember the Indian agent, who is the legal representative of the Superintendent-General, through whose mouth he speaks, by whom he communicates his will, who is the embodiment of his authority, who is at the elbow of the Indian all the year round; and consider the influences under which the dependent and illiterate In-

dian will vote. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) In the report of Sir John Macdonald, made two or three years ago, he declared that he had issued circulars to all his officers to ascertain whether the Indians were fit for some rudimentary form of municipal government as a training for the full status of free men. He did not lay the replies before us, but he gave us a summary in a few lines of his report. He declared emphatically that

THEY WERE NOT FIT

for even the most rudimentary form of self-government. And these men whom he so declared unfit for the first step toward freedom, he now makes, not independent voters, but largely *his* voters by the law. (Great cheering.) And this further declaration he made in his report—that there is but one way of elevating the young Indians—and that is to undertake their entire training, and to separate them from their parents and their homes. The home and parental influence, he thinks, are fatal to advancement; but if they can be taken away from their parents and homes, and kept in the schools they will probably progress. This is not my doctrine, mind you. No doubt the Tory papers will say it is I who said these things. This is a

STATEMENT MADE BY SIR JOHN MACDONALD

in his report, and I call upon you to judge how far those can be qualified to exercise the franchise, the best hope of whose children is, according to the First Minister, that they should be taken from the home and influence of the parent? (Loud and prolonged cheering.) I do not say that all the Indians are unfit by their conduct to be voters. *I believe there are Indians who are fairly advanced in education, intelligent, industrious, provident, progressive, and discharging the duties of parentage creditably. But almost all are unemancipated,* and of the condition of the bulk I have only the Superintendent-General's report to judge from, and I have told you what he says. It was only last night that, speaking at a missionary meeting in Toronto, Sir John Macdonald, referring to the British Columbia Indians, inflicted upon those of the East a great slur. *He declared that the British Columbia Indians were of a superior strain, because they had in them an admixture of Mongolian blood.* Thus they were superior to the Indians of the Territories and of the Eastern Provinces. But we have declared by an Act of Parliament that the Mongolian is not fit to vote, that, in fact, he is not fit to live in Canada at all. (Loud laughter.) The Mongolian is good enough forsooth to improve the strain of the British Columbia Indian blood, but the

Eastern Indians, whose blood is not so improved, are made voters, while neither the Mongolians nor the British Columbia Indians, whose blood they have improved, are deemed fit to vote. (Loud and prolonged laughter and applause.) Under these circumstances, then, so far as the Indian is concerned, the polling in Haldimand is proceeding. But many of the Indians are

NOT UNOBSERVANT FOLLOWERS

of those affairs which affect their own race, and their own blood, and, besides, the Indians have seen the general demeanour and attitude of local Liberals, and of the Liberal party in regard to their concerns. The Indian doubts the boon offered to him by the Government, and he does not relish the management of the North-West, and *it has been found that the Indian vote is not as safe, even in Haldimand, as the Government expected it would be.* We all expect the Government will poll a large majority of the Indian vote. Under existing circumstances the Indians would be more than human if they did not largely so vote. I cannot greatly blame the Indians, under those circumstances, for giving the Government a large majority of their votes. But they will not poll them all. (Loud cheers.) The Government supporters must have come to the conclusion that they were not going to poll them all—they must have found that all was not going as they expected—for the great father, chief, and councillor, the guide and guardian, the great authority of the Indians,

THE SUPERINTENDENT-GENERAL HIMSELF,

just two days before the election goes—not into Haldimand, indeed, that would be, perhaps, a little too indecent—but goes to the borders of the county into the Indian reserve in the county of Brant, adjoining the Haldimand reserve, to hold a great pow-wow. (Derisive cheers and laughter.) That it had something to do with the Haldimand election I will show you upon good authority. I have here the newspaper report in the *Mail* of September 4th, headed “Sir John among the Indians,” and stating that “the Indians in Haldimand are greatly pleased at Sir John’s forthcoming visit to the Six Nations.” On September 6th the visit was paid, Sir John Macdonald went out in company with Mr. Robert Henry, ex-Mayor of Brantford, a leading Conservative light in that city, Mr. J. J. Hawkins, who is called “ex-M.P.P.,” a well-known Conservative just now, and Mr. Thomas Elliott, who is described as President of the North Brant Conservative Association. So you see the political character of the gathering; that it was as a politician the Superintendent-General went, if

we are to "judge a man by the company he keeps." (Laughter.) The report of the *World* says:—

"Sir John, the chiefs, and the leading warriors, and bucks of the tribe afterwards entered the Council House, where a three hours' conference was held with closed doors. No whites were admitted."

NO WHITES WERE ADMITTED

—except Sir John. (Great laughter.) You see that the affair was carried out in just such a way as to most impress the minds of these people with his power, and to combine that power which the law gives him as the head of the Indian Department, to be used in the general interest, with his power and position as the leader of a great party. And all this was accentuated by the time at which he came and by the holding of a secret conference with these people, during which he tried to influence their feelings. (Cheers.) If I had wanted further proof of the impropriety of giving the vote to the Indian, while he is a dependent of the Chief Superintendent, I care not whether the officer who guides him be Reform or Conservative, I could not have asked for more than this proceeding just before polling day. This election is a desperate struggle, and the result will be to the last moment uncertain. I am willing to believe that it was not without some qualms of conscience, some feelings of reluctance, that the Chief Superintendent so timed his visit as to make it plain he was seeking the votes of his wards—of those wards whom he declared three years ago not fit to enter even the most rudimentary form of self-government—that the Chief Superintendent did what his own officers are by law forbidden to do as improper practices vitiating the election. It shows you, as other things do, the desperate character of the struggle in which, holding the Indian vote of 125 as against a majority of 126 gained by the Liberal candidate at the last election, together with other influences, to some of which I shall allude, the Government hopes to snatch a victory. I hope differently. I believe against all odds we shall win. (Loud and prolonged applause.) But I call on you Reformers to remember that a defeat of the Opposition in a bye-election held under present circumstances is no index of the result of a general election. The Government has enormous advantages over the Opposition. They can pour in unlimited forces, as they have done; they can ply every method of gaining votes, as they have done; they can point to the complexion of the Parliament; they can promise favours. But

AT THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

all will be different. Sir John Macdonald cannot be on every reserve; the Great Chief cannot be everywhere to direct the votes of his "children" in a general election. (Great cheering.) We shall meet in other ways then on more even ground. It is only under special circumstances that the efforts they have put forth in Haldimand can be repeated, and therefore I say that, believing as I do, that the main tide and current of popular opinion is setting all our way, we are not to be discouraged if there should happen some eddy or backflow in an elbow of the river. No! we are to go straight onward, knowing that if we fight an even battle to-day under such circumstances as attend this contest, our ultimate victory in the struggle is assured. (Loud and prolonged applause.) I agree with your chairman as to the time of the elections.

WHEN THE FRANCHISE ACT WAS PROPOSED I STATED THAT AN ELECTION SHOULD FOLLOW THE COMPLETION OF THE LISTS.

At the opening of last session I expressed my wish for 'an early appeal to the people; and the other day in the east I explained that when a large addition had been made to the electorate, it was essential that at the earliest moment that an appeal to the people should take place so that the new electorate might have the opportunity to speak. I cared not whether they were for or against my views. *The constitutional rule is that the Parliament, which has been elected by a constituency which has been condemned as too narrow, has fulfilled its functions as soon as the incoming and enlarged electorate is in a position to vote, and should be forthwith dismissed.* But the Tories don't say so. They are not going upon that general principle. They reserve to themselves the power of acting as they may determine to be best in their party interest. They think they control absolutely the prerogative which was given for the public benefit and not for their own; and they will use it for their own advantage. "We won't say," they virtually tell us, "that we think that on the general and public grounds you state there ought to be an election." Because if they did they would be compelled to act on a view which might be very inconvenient. (Laughter.) If they think the time is not suitable for them as a party they will hold the election over until next year, but if they think their chances are good now, we shall doubtless have the election and a great deal of talk about the new electorate being represented. There is no power of the Government which is given them except

FOR THE PUBLIC ADVANTAGE,

but that with the Tories is synonymous with Tory advantage. (Laughter.) We fight the battle under great disadvantages in many ways, but we shall fight with good heart, confident in the good cause, and in the good sense and patriotism of the people. (Great applause.)

REPLY TO INDIAN ADDRESS.

Honour in Politics—The Representative of South Brant in the Commons—Fitting Tribute to Mr. Paterson.

The following is the introductory portion of the speech of Hon. EDWARD BLAKE at Brantford :—

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, allow me in the first place to return my thanks to the members of the Six Nations and Mississaugas for the address with which they have honoured me. I can assure them I have received it with great interest and gratification, and I rejoice at the tone, the broad and generous, the calm and just tone, in which they speak of the attitude of the Liberal party with reference to the very important step, as affecting the various Indian nations, which was lately taken. I rejoice also to know that there are amongst them so many who are able to appreciate the general principles of action of the Liberal party, and to recognize that its policy in the past has been, as its policy in the future, so long as it is worthy of its name, must be that which shall, in the judgment of the party, subserve the best and truest interests of the Indians.

For myself, I may say I have ever felt a

GREAT INTEREST IN AND SYMPATHY FOR

those who are the representatives to-day of the original possessors of the vast domain of this continent of North America. I have ever most anxiously desired that our legislation and our course with reference to them, and our relation towards them, should be such as might best conduce to their welfare, security, and prosperity, and I am glad to be assured that, being entrusted by the Parliament of Canada with the exercise of the franchise, there are, amongst those who may choose to avail themselves of

the right, men who, as they are capable of doing, consider the policy of both parties, and the true interests of the country in which they live, to which they belong, with which their fortunes are bound up; and who, after such consideration, are prepared to adopt the principles of the Liberal party. I dare say that the expectations of the Conservatives, hinted at in this address, may be in large measure disappointed; and that the Liberal party may find, as it ought to find, among the descendants of the original possessors of the soil

MANY WARM AND EARNEST ADHERENTS,

because *the Liberal party has for its objects, justice to, and the advancement and elevation of, all classes of our population*, no matter what their creed, no matter what their colour, no matter what the race to which they belong. I hope it may be my fortune some day to visit my friends on their reserve. (Loud and prolonged applause) In the midst of the series of very large meetings, which it has been my privilege to address, I had very great pleasure in agreeing to Mr. Paterson's request that I should speak in Brantford. I congratulate the Reformers of South Brant upon this magnificent assemblage. Our meetings have been the largest, most enthusiastic, and most satisfactory in every way, which in nearly twenty years of political life, it has been my fortune to attend. (Cheers.) Not merely have our friends gathered in great numbers, and in great enthusiasm, but we have also been favoured with the presence of very considerable numbers of those who do not ordinarily take as active an interest as I should desire in politics, and with the presence of a large number of those who have not heretofore seen eye to eye with us. And not merely have these two classes been present, but I am happy to say we have received abundant evidence that their

EYES ARE OPENING TO THE TRUTH,

as we understand it, with reference to the interests of Canada, that a very great change is rapidly taking place in public opinion, that the public mind is in a highly formative condition, and that we may hope from these demonstrations the best results for the future of Canada, which I believe to be inextricably bound up with the future of the Liberal party. (Loud applause.) I am glad to note also the presence on almost every occasion of large numbers of ladies deeply interested in those affairs which so much concern them. (Applause.) And lastly, I rejoice to see so many young men. This has been a special feature of the other meetings also, and a most encouraging and cheering feature it is. I have said elsewhere that one of the things which gives me now

the greatest satisfaction is, that I was to a considerable extent responsible—being the first to suggest it—for the policy which has resulted in the young men of the country being, at a very much earlier age, and under very much easier circumstances than formerly, admitted to the franchise. I proposed this, not that they might enjoy it as a pleasure, but that they might embrace it as a high duty. (Cheers.) I proposed it because I was convinced our best chance of making of them good and worthy citizens was to interest them early in public affairs, and I accompanied the suggestion with an expression of the hope, which I am so glad to see so largely realized, that they would recognize the responsibility which was attendant upon the privilege; that they would feel it to be their duty to interest themselves actively in the conduct of public affairs, to undertake the acquisition of that knowledge and the performance of that labour which is essential to an intelligent choice of their political party, and to the exercise of their proper influence over the fortunes of that party. (Renewed cheering.) If I may say a word or two to them, I would invite them, in the opening of life, to lay down for themselves and rigidly to abide by the principles which shall guide them in the

CONDUCT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

We have seen the politics of our country degraded and abased. (Applause.) It is for these to purify and exalt them, not merely by laying down principles of action, but by taking care that they enforce and exemplify those principles in their own conduct. (Loud applause.) They believe, I trust, and hope—it is natural to their years that they should believe—in the progress, if not the infinite, at any rate the indefinite, progress of the race. (Loud cheers.) Let them believe also that it is of the last importance that we should progress, not merely in the material, but also in the moral sphere, not merely in riches, not merely in strength, not merely in temporal prosperity, but that we should progress along the intellectual and moral plane as well. (Loud applause.) Let them remember those words written so long ago, and just as true to-day, “Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.” (Loud applause.) For my part,

I BELIEVE WE CAN DO OUR DUTY IN POLITICS,

and yet observe the rules that we shall do nothing and counsel nothing in private which we should be ashamed to have divulged in public; that we shall not adopt any standard of morality or party action in politics which we would decline to adopt in social or in private life; and that we shall refuse to act upon the base maxim that all is fair in politics as in war. (Cheers.)

ALL IS NOT FAIR IN POLITICS ;

the laws of truth, the laws of honour, the laws of justice, the laws of fair play and generosity ought to prevail in this as in other relations. In truth, on no other plan can we do our duty in politics. It is only by recognizing these cardinal principles, by practising them each one of us in his own sphere, and by enforcing them upon others, that we can raise politics to their proper level, upon which level they should be deemed the most ennobling of the pursuits of a free citizen in a free country. (Loud applause.) Now, I have to talk to you upon some of those many subjects which engross public attention to-day. The field is too vast for me to run over it all, however rapidly. And to-night I shall say hardly a word upon many topics, each of which, for its proper treatment, would demand a speech. I know that on all of these you have had the advantage for many years past of being informed in the fullest manner of the views of the Liberal party by our friend,

MR. PATERSON, YOUR REPRESENTATIVE,

who has no doubt done his duty in expounding Liberal views here, as he has expounded them so powerfully in other constituencies, and in the halls of Parliament. I know you have taken a special interest in some of these measures, those mainly affecting the representation of the people in Parliament, because you, the Liberals of the riding and your representative have been

THE DESTINED VICTIMS OF SOME OF THESE MEASURES.

(Cheers.) But I am glad to know that as you have not yielded heretofore, so now you do not intend to yield to these acts—not Acts of Parliament, but rather acts of force, and violence, and fraud. (Loud and prolonged applause.) I rejoice to know that the spirit of the electors of South Brant, their sense of justice and fair play, has been too high to permit these nefarious schemes—miscalled legislation in the interest of the public, but deserving of no such name—to permit these nefarious schemes for the carving and cutting up of counties and electoral districts to the benefit of one and the injury of the other political party to produce their designed effect. And if there ever was a constituency which had the right to resent such acts of injustice, it is the South Riding of Brant, treated as you have been, represented as you have been, led as you have been, by A STANDARD BEARER WHOSE ABILITY, WHOSE ELOQUENCE, WHOSE KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTENTION TO PUBLIC AFFAIRS, WHOSE WIDE SYMPATHIES, GENEROUS NATURE, AND HIGH SENSE OF EQUITY, WHOSE PERSONAL CHARACTER AND PRIVATE

WORTH HAVE ALL ENDEARED HIM IN THE HIGHEST DEGREE TO US WHO HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH HIM FOR MANY YEARS AT OTTAWA, AND I AM SURE, MUST HAVE ENDEARED HIM IN AN EQUAL DEGREE TO YOU AMONGST WHOM HE LIVES, AND WITH WHOM HE IS ASSOCIATED IN THE HAPPY RELATION OF MEMBER AND CONSTITUENTS. (Loud and prolonged applause.) In connection with the address which has been presented to me I may say that I have watched the course of Mr. Paterson since he entered Parliament in 1872, with reference to

INDIAN LEGISLATION AND AFFAIRS,

and at all times for long years before that recent period at which the suggestion was first made that the franchise should extend to the Indian population, I have found him exhibiting in their interest that sympathy, that breadth of view, that kindly feeling, that deep interest which you here, I believe, know that he has felt and shown. I have found him watching closely every measure of legislation affecting the Indians, making suggestions, indicating defects, pointing out improvements, engaged in discussions, showing that at all times he was influenced by the most earnest desire that those who were his neighbours and friends, although there was no idea that they might become electors of the constituency, should be, (as far as the legislation and administration at Ottawa could effect it) elevated and their condition improved. He was an active friend when there was no political gain to be expected. Now that the time and occasion have arrived, I believe those whom he sought to befriend in the earlier days will show their gratitude. Gratitude is a noble trait; and the Indian, if I read his character aright, possesses that trait in a marked degree. I look then with confidence, both on general grounds and on the special circumstances, for a considerable vote from the reserve, and a decisive majority in the riding for our friend, William Paterson. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

(9)

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL.

THE RELATIONS OF THE LIBERAL PARTY TO CREEDS AND CLASSES.

Case of W. B. O'Donoghue—New Brunswick School Case—Case of
Hon. John O'Donohoe—Toleration and True National Spirit

Hon. EDWARD BLAKE, speaking at Welland, said :—

While speaking at the meeting this morning I could not but remember the last time I addressed a meeting in Welland. It was nearly fifteen years ago, and we spoke from 12 at noon to 12 at night. (Laughter.) It was the nomination for that election in which Welland for the first time in many years made a break in its Conservative record for the Dominion, and elected our lamented friend, W. A. Thomson. (Loud cheers.) That is a long time ago. Children of that day have become voters now ; young men are middle-aged ; and many of the older ones have passed away. The changes have been great in the political arena as well as in the social world. I remember that on the side of the Conservative Government there appeared on that platform five public men. There was Mr. Aikins, now Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba ; Dr. Tupper, now High Commissioner for Canada ; Mr. O'Connor, now a judge ; and Mr. William Macdougall and Mr. Peter Mitchell. These five gentlemen I was called that day to meet. (Applause.) Of the five, the first three are no longer in active political life. I have described their situation. But amongst the changes in political life are these—that the remaining two are

NO LONGER IN THE RANKS OF THE PARTY

on whose behalf they spoke that day. Though, perhaps, not occupying the position of absolutely enrolled members of the Liberal party, they are of us, *they are with us, they are against the Government of Sir John Macdonald*, they are outspoken and pronounced in opposition to that Government, and they agree in the bulk of the positions taken by the Liberal party ; they avow their anxiety to see the Government defeated, and to see the Liberals returned to power—(loud cheers)—and what has happened in

these cases has happened in many other cases also. I am glad to know that throughout the whole of Canada, and particularly throughout Ontario, there are to be found men of mark in their own localities, faithful, intelligent, independent men who have become alarmed at the condition, moral and material, of the country, who have become satisfied that the Administration has not redeemed its promises, that its conduct has not been to the public advantage, and that it ought to be replaced by another Government acting upon other lines. Therefore, I take it as a good omen that, when I come here, almost at the close of a very long series of great meetings, to resume my relations with the people of Welland, I should be able to tell them that, of the distinguished public men who appeared before them fifteen years ago to support the Tory Government, those who speak in public life to-day speak against that Government, and range themselves in opposition to its course. (Tremendous applause.) Amongst the issues raised on that occasion was the relation of the Liberals to one portion of our population. I have always discouraged and discountenanced, so far as I could, any appeal to considerations of race or creed. (Applause.) *My earnest desire has ever been that we should mingle, irrespective of our origins, irrespective of our creeds, as Canadian brethren, as Canadian fellow-citizens, whether we be English or French, Scotch, Irish, or Germans, whether we be Protestant, Catholic, or Jew, sinking all these distinctions in the political arena, and uniting and dividing, not upon questions of origin, not upon questions of religion (I think we might as a rule almost as well divide upon the number of our inches or on the colour of our hair), but rather upon honest differences of opinion with reference to the current politics of the country.* (Renewed applause.) But while that has been my view, I have been obliged, from time to time, in the discharge of my duty, to combat appeals to race, to combat appeals to creed, and to explain and vindicate the relations of the Liberal party and of myself, sometimes as a humble member, sometimes as its unworthy leader, towards various portions of our population; and I have thought it would not be an unfitting time, considering the circumstances of that former meeting, and having regard to the attempts which have been lately made to raise these questions and misrepresent the position of parties, and particularly of myself, toward a class of the community, to say a few words upon that subject before passing to the discussion of general politics. I have come here to support what I believe will be, though our friend declares he is not yet absolutely in the field, the candidature of Thomas Conlon. (Loud and prolonged applause.) He says he is ready, if no better man be found, to step into the breach. From what I have learned, no better man, no man as good, can be found for the place. (Great

cheering.) And therefore, after that declaration of our friend, I take the liberty of announcing him as the Reform candidate for the county of Welland for the next election. (Vociferous applause.) Now I am come here to ask your support for him as standard-bearer of the Liberal party. Not on account of his creed; I would demean myself by any such appeal; it would be an appeal unworthy of me, of him, and of you. I believe the principles and policy to which he adheres, some points of which I shall have the pleasure of laying before you presently, are the principles and policy most for the advantage of this Dominion. I believe him to be an honest, upright man, trusted in the community in which he lives, widely known amongst you, and respected wherever he is known, a man who will be found true to his promises and determined to advance, to the best of his skill and ability, the interests of the county he seeks to represent, and the country he is proud to call his own. (Loud cheers.) There are my reasons for inviting you to support him. Now a word on

MY RELATIONS TO THOSE OF MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN WHO HAPPEN
TO BE IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

I am sorry to take up time with personal statements, but it seems proper that I should do so now. The bulk of the Tory party sedulously charge me with pandering to the Irish Roman Catholics in an unworthy effort to curry favour with them. The charge is false. But another wing of the Tory party, represented, for instance, by Mr. Mackintosh and Mr. Costigan, and by some Tory pamphleteers and pressmen, charge me with great injustice to these same men, and declare me, in consequence, unworthy of their confidence. That charge is equally false. *In all cases I have done my duty according to my lights*; and that duty has been to be

TRUE TO LIBERAL PRINCIPLES,

irrespective of creed or race. The questions upon which these discussions have turned are not numerous. I will touch them briefly. I opposed the incorporation of the Orange order, for reasons which were fully declared in Parliament, and which have never been answered to this day. Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, the Orange Ministers, were there. They had promised their support to the Bill; but they sat dumb. They dared not speak, they could not answer the reasons which I adduced. I supported the cause of Home Rule for Ireland, for reasons which I fully declared in Parliament, and which were never answered there. I believe those reasons to be unanswerable. (Cheers.) I knew perfectly well that in both cases I was

opposing myself to the passions and prejudices of a large body of my fellow-countrymen, and that I was, which I more regretted, running counter to the apprehensions of a considerable number of men, honest, although, I think, misguided in their judgment. But I believed both these causes to be just, and, so believing, I advanced, regardless of what I knew would happen, and what has since happened, the vilifications, the attacks, the insults, the imputations, and the misconceptions to which I have been constantly exposed. (Cheers.) These matters I am not going to discuss to-night, because they have come fully before you already. They are large and general questions on which I trust you are informed. I would like to say something of them, but there are questions of another kind with which I wish to deal. So much, then, for the causes of offence which are paraded before my Protestant fellow-countrymen as reasons why I am unworthy of their confidence. Now, allow me to pass to the attacks, I may say the petty attacks, made to injure me in the eyes of my Catholic fellow-countrymen. They require me to spend some time in recalling details which have been grievously distorted. There is

THE CASE OF W. B. O'DONOGHUE.

When Mr. Mackenzie proposed resolutions for an amnesty to certain persons implicated in the North-West troubles, I was not a member of the Government, but I quite agreed in and I accept my full share of responsibility for those resolutions. They gave the reason for the action which Parliament was invited to take. O'Donoghue, who, like Riel, was then out of the country, was not included in the amnesty. Mr. Costigan, one of my present accusers, voted for those resolutions; he did not propose any amendment for a more extensive amnesty, and he actually voted against an amendment moved for a general amnesty embracing O'Donoghue. I may say, therefore, that the course proposed then met with general assent. When, in 1876, Mr. Costigan first proposed to reconsider the case of O'Donoghue, the reasons for not acting at that time were fully explained by me in a speech, which satisfied the bulk of the House, for only about thirty men voted for Mr. Costigan, and the whole of the rest, Tories and Liberals, voted against his motion. I quote a brief extract from my speech:—

The reasons why partial amnesty was granted to Riel were mentioned in the resolutions of last session, and the address based on them. They showed that after the termination of the North-West troubles, and the establishment of a constitutional government in Manitoba, an incursion into that Province was set on foot, the principal actor, if not the leader, of which was W. B. O'Donoghue. It was necessary to the preservation of that order which had been restored that there should be a union of all the inhabitants of that country. Such results were obtained upon pledges made to some of the act-

ors in the old North-West troubles, and the attitude there assumed by them was one of the principal causes for the lenity extended to those individuals. It was unnecessary to do more than state these facts to show why, when it was proposed to deal mercifully and leniently with the actors in the North-West troubles, the same lenity was not extended to O'Donoghue. A statement of the facts showed that a different line must be taken with him. What was the attitude of these three chief actors of that time? On the one hand they found O'Donoghue leading an insurrection against Her Majesty's subjects, while the others were found on the other side. The acts of O'Donoghue on that occasion were such as precluded the House from taking a favourable view of his case. The letter of O'Donoghue, which the hon. gentleman had read, showed that O'Donoghue did not dread anything that might be alleged against him in reference to these North-West troubles. The hon. gentleman had complained in respect of this particular person an amnesty in reference to the North-West troubles in 1869-70 had not been granted, and that O'Donoghue was not permitted to re-enter the Province of Manitoba free of danger in respect to these transactions. Now, O'Donoghue's letter, which had been read, expressly states that

HE WAS ENTIRELY INNOCENT

of the blood of Scott, that he was under no apprehension of standing his trial on that subject, and that but for his part in the so-called Fenian raid, he would have gone to Manitoba long since, and demanded his trial. He did not want mercy in regard to the North-West troubles, and was prepared to face justice on that charge. What now was the difficulty? It was not that he had not been pardoned for his connection with these troubles, because he did not want his amnesty for that. His difficulty was that his action in 1871, whatever it was, had not been pardoned.

I want you to remember that Louis Letendre, a French-Canadian, was under the ban of the law at this very time for this raid. They say it was not the raid which was in question, but the attitude of the actors in the raid was, as I have shown, an important element in deciding on the question of clemency. At the time Mr. Costigan himself repudiated the idea of nationality influencing the Government. He used these words :—

The hon. member for Hastings had then stated that if W. B. O'Donoghue had not been an Irishman but a member of the same nationality as the other two persons to whom he had referred, he, like them, would have been pardoned. Perhaps this argument did not possess much force, and he (Mr. Costigan) for his part had not then considered, and did not now think, that this was the reason that influenced the Government to do as they had done.

The next proposal was made in 1877. Then it was seen that an effort was about to be made to make political capital and excite race feeling. The Government was of opinion that it was not yet time to act in the matter. I, as Minister of Justice, stated that fact and declined to take up the question on the ground that it was premature. I explained the distinctions which existed in the cases, and repudiated the attempt to create race feeling.

Let me quote some extracts from the report of my speech :—

The member described the people who inhabited this country as Frenchmen who stood shoulder to shoulder, Scotchmen who stood shoulder to shoulder, Englishmen who stood shoulder to shoulder, and Irishmen who did not stand shoulder to shoulder. As a Canadian of Irish descent, when he heard these sentiments he looked around the House to see where there was a place for a Canadian. The hon. gentleman did not think there was any such thing as Canadian sentiment or nationality. Was this the way such questions were to be met here? Was this the way in which patriotic sentiment was to be made to glow? It was utterly impossible. * * * The hon. gentleman said that Mr. O'Donoghue was sacrificed, that he was treated unjustly, that his property had suffered, and that he ought to be permitted to return to attend to a large tract of land in the North-West, which he claimed. But what the hon. gentleman asked was, that O'Donoghue should be placed in the same position as Riel and Lepine, in that, by the proclamation issued in pursuance of an address by this House, they were amnestied. As to Riel, he was condemned by a process of outlawry, the proclamation amnestying him after five years' banishment. * * * Even were O'Donoghue placed in the same position as Riel he could not return to Manitoba as an amnestied man, because that privilege was not accorded to Riel himself, his term of banishment not having expired. So that this question of property would remain in the same position as it now was were O'Donoghue treated like Riel, for he could not return to Manitoba till after five years had elapsed. The hon. gentleman had spoken as if Riel, and those placed in the same category with him, were enjoying present rights and privileges not accorded to O'Donoghue. But this was fallacious, because were an amnesty given to O'Donoghue to-morrow, on the same terms as it had been given to Riel, he could not enter Manitoba, and his property would have to be attended to and his residence fixed by the same considerations by which they were governed to-day. The hon. gentleman said that an injustice was done to O'Donoghue, because he might return at any rate at the end of five years if he were amnestied. He (Mr. Blake) undertook to show by the most conclusive evidence to which the hon. gentleman had given the attestation of recording it on the journals of this House, that it was not the want of an amnesty that prevented his returning to Manitoba. He would refer the House to the hon. gentleman's motion of last year, moved on the 23rd March. In that motion was recited a letter from O'Donoghue to the Speaker of this House, in which he declared that he was entirely ignorant of, and had nothing to do with, and was quite irresponsible for the death of Scott, and that if it was not for the so-called Fenian raid he would long since have demanded a trial as to his action in the North-West. It would be seen by this that he did not want an amnesty for his participation in the North-West troubles, but for his action in the Fenian raid. That was what prevented his coming to his adopted country.

Mr. White (East Hastings)—That is correct.

Mr. Blake said they knew now what was desired; that under cover of a motion to grant a like amnesty to that granted to Riel and Lepine in connection with the North-West troubles of 1869-70, the House was asked to amnesty O'Donoghue for his participation in the Fenian raid. One man was arrested by reason of his connection with that raid. He was a British subject, and had it not been for the present painful discussion, he would not mention his nationality, but he was a Frenchman. His name was Louis Letendre. He was arrested, charged, tried, convicted of high treason and sentenced to death. His sentence was commuted to 20 years' imprisonment, and subsequently to 20 years' banishment. There had been no appeal—no Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman had asked for the remission of his sentence; so he was not embraced in the motion of his hon. friend.

O'Donoghue, in a letter formally addressed to Mr. Speaker as the organ of this House, had told him in the strongest and plainest terms, by his own statement, that he did not care for amnesty, that he was not prevented from entering Manitoba by reason of the North-West troubles, but it was the Fenian trouble that prevented him from going there. . . . It was the opinion of the Government that without naming a time or declaring any decision, the time had not arrived for taking any action on the matter, and that no real injustice—according to the sense in which the hon. member used that term in which he did not agree with him—was done O'Donoghue at the present moment. Even if the motion were granted O'Donoghue would not be for years in a position to return to Manitoba; and therefore no injustice—in the hon. gentleman's sense—was done by not granting it at this time.

Now all this time, as you will see, both Riel and O'Donoghue were in the United States, and neither could, without risk of being apprehended, come into Canada; but a five years' term had been set, at the end of which Riel was to be free from all further risk, as his amnesty would then take effect. No time had been set for the commencement of an amnesty to O'Donoghue, and

BOTH WERE EXILES.

Meanwhile, when half the five years had expired, the Government came to the conclusion that the time had arrived to deal with O'Donoghue's case, and he was then placed on exactly the same footing as Riel. It was provided that he should be free from the risk of apprehension on the same terms, and at the same hour that Riel was to be free. The amnesty was granted on the same conditions. He, therefore, suffered nothing in the end more than Riel. Now, I say that if there was an error, it was rather on the side of leniency, than on the side of severity. I approved of the act, because my leaning in these cases always is, rather towards leniency than towards severity. But such is my judgment. During the whole transaction I absolutely declined to consider any question of race or creed, and I tell my Irish Catholic fellow-countrymen, some of whom may still on account of this matter entertain views unfavourable to me, that I will ever act upon the same principle. (Loud applause.) I will not act one instant later or sooner, or one whit more or less leniently because of race or creed. In each case I will act upon the justice of that case irrespective of race or creed. I hold that the administration of justice and the action of Government must depend solely on the circumstances of the case, and in no degree upon considerations of origin or faith. Now, there is the case of W. B. O'Donoghue. (Loud applause.) The next matter of attack is

THE NEW BRUNSWICK SCHOOL QUESTION.

The point was whether the Provincial Legislature of New Bruns-

wick had overstepped its powers in dealing with education by a law which modified certain customs and practices which had long existed in the Province with reference to Roman Catholic education. The question was doubtful. The Liberals thought that even if the Legislature had the power, the act was regrettable. But the Liberals could not agree to what a few persons proposed, namely, that we should ask that the rights of the Local Legislature should be curtailed; and in this, Sir John Macdonald took the same view that we did. The Liberals, however, proposed and obtained facilities for the decision of the doubtful constitutional question. They went further, and, against the earnest protests of Sir John Macdonald and the Conservative party, they addressed the Governor-General with a view to an *ad interim* disallowance of some tax Acts, whose validity depended upon that of the main Act, and which they thought ought to be held in abeyance until the decision of the question on the main Act. That was going a long way; possibly it was going too far. I was not in my place at the time. Had I been there, I could have voted for that proposal only upon the ground, which I understand the Liberals took, that it was a temporary disallowance under the special circumstances, disclaiming all intention of overriding any ascertained rights of the Local Legislature. But the step went to the extreme verge. The House passed the address, Sir John Macdonald opposed it and refused to advise compliance with it; and the Acts were not disallowed; and now Mr. Costigan says it was the Liberals and not the Tories that were to blame! (Loud applause and laughter.) The question was ultimately decided in favour of the right of the Local Legislature by the Privy Council, and then it was proposed to take steps towards overriding the valid Acts of the Local Legislature by altering its powers. To this neither Liberals nor honest Tories could agree. The principle of Home Rule was in question. (Applause.) We did what we could. We sent an address to the foot of the Throne, praying Her Most Gracious Majesty to use her influence with the Local Legislature for an amendment of the law and the redress of the complaint. That motion I prepared and seconded in Parliament. Once again it was going to the very verge. But it is we, forsooth, who are charged with injustice, and hostility; and the people are asked by Mr. Costigan to support the Tories who did nothing, and to condemn us, who did as much as we could and, as the Tories said, more than we ought! There is the New Brunswick school question! (Applause.) The third and last question, is "the tempest in the teapot," of

MY ALLEGED IMPROPRIETY TOWARDS MR. JOHN O'DONOHUE.

I am charged with showing prejudice and hostility against Roman Catholics because, it is said; I refused to speak for Mr. O'Donohoe when he was Reform candidate for East Toronto, and this on the ground that I was not a voter in the district. I can call this nothing but an absurd and ridiculous misstatement. I had spoken a hundred times for Reform candidates in ridings where I had no vote. I hope to speak a hundred times more as I am doing to-night. (Applause.) I hope to do it as long as health and strength allow. (Renewed applause.) In Mr. O'Donohoe's candidature in January, 1884, I had, being then a member of the Government, done everything I could for him. On this occasion Mr. O'Donohoe was not the candidate. A convention had been called to choose a candidate. I being then only a private member of Parliament, having no authority to speak for the Government or for the party at large, and not having a vote in the riding, was asked to attend this convention, and speak so as to influence the delegates in favour of Mr. O'Donohoe that he might be chosen as the Reform candidate. I acted on my general views. I said it was my opinion that the choice of the standard-bearer should, as much as possible, be left in the hands of the Reform electors of the riding who had to fight the battle. (Cheers.) I said that I had no title to interfere in that choice; that outside interference generally did more harm than good; and that I thought it better for these reasons not to attend the convention; but I added that Mr. O'Donohoe had my best wishes for his success, and to all who came to me I expressed these wishes. I believe my course helped him; at any rate he got the nomination. (Applause.) Then, and not till then, he became the Reform candidate. A great public meeting was soon after held in his interest; I attended that meeting and spoke as warmly and as strongly as I could for him. (Cheers.) So much for the O'Donohoe story. (Loud laughter and applause.) It has pained me to see these false statements made. Whatever I am,

I STICK BY MY FRIENDS,

and that, too, even after they have left me. (Applause.) Mr. O'Donohoe had been a well-tried and hard-working Reformer. I did what I could in his interest, as I did also for Dr. Bergin in 1874. Afterwards both these gentlemen changed their views, and both of them have attacked me very bitterly, with great frequency, and, as I thought, with great injustice. I have never replied to them or retorted on them. I have preferred to remember the old

times when we worked together. I have preferred to remember, too, that they were my fellow-countrymen; and I have borne in silence their unjust attacks rather than retaliate. I have chosen to recollect their acts of friendship and co-operation rather than those of hostility and animosity. I have hoped that the day might come when they, or, if not they, at any rate my fellow-countrymen of their race and creed, would do me justice—(Applause)—and I wished to put no obstacle whatever in the way of a reconciliation in which I have nothing to withdraw, nothing to apologize for, nothing to excuse. (Renewed applause.) I frankly say to you, ladies and gentlemen, that I have never forgotten the days of my boyhood in 1848, when my father was a leader in public life, and spoke for justice and liberality towards those involved in the rebellion of 1837. I have never forgotten that there was then in the ranks of the Liberal party a great phalanx of Irish and French Roman Catholic Liberals. (Cheers.) I have always regretted the circumstances which led to the withdrawal of many of those warm friends. I have deemed them still the natural allies of the Liberals and Reformers. (Great cheering.) I have hoped that the clouds of prejudice and distrust would roll away; that the hostile feelings engendered by misconception and misrepresentation on one side, as well as by errors on the other, would disappear, and that we should find ourselves once more in accord with our former friends. (Cheers.) I have hoped it, not for the sake of my party only, but for the sake of my country too. I have felt that it was not well that there should be an enormous preponderance of one nationality or of one faith upon one side of the political field, marshalled there not on living issues, or on questions of principle, but

UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ANCIENT PREJUDICES,

misconceptions and mistakes. (Loud cheers.) I have felt that it would be for our country's good that we should be divided upon intelligible issues and current differences of opinion, and not by old quarrels or by lines of nationality or religion. To this end have I striven, not by pandering to cries of origin or faith, not by exciting passions or prejudices, but by discountenancing such efforts, and doing my humble best to remove all grounds for misconception or alienation; by acting justly as between all races and all creeds, and by conducting the Liberal party on true liberal lines. (Renewed cheering.) I described our course in the last session of Parliament in the presence of my assembled fellow-countrymen. Let me read it, so that you may know what I said in that great arena before the representatives of Canada at large :—

Then the hon. member for Gloucester (Mr. Burns) said that I was trying to catch the Irish vote. I have been in public life a good many years. The Irish population of my Province, is, of course, composed of the Irish Protestant population, and the Irish Catholic population. I have endeavoured to do my duty and to act upon what I believe were sound liberal principles towards all classes of the population. I have found myself opposed by a solid body, by the great majority, by the vast bulk of the Irish Protestants of Ontario. They are my strongest, and sternest and fiercest political opponents to-day. I have found myself opposed by the great bulk of the Irish Catholics of Ontario. They also, with some noble exceptions, were amongst my opponents when I was defeated in South Bruce, during my absence from the country through ill-health. It was the Irish Catholics in that riding that rejected me ; that deprived me of my seat in Parliament and obliged me to stand for another constituency at a subsequent date. I have endeavoured, notwithstanding all that, to do my duty and to act according to my lights, honestly, justly, and fairly towards the Irish Catholics and towards the Irish Protestants, towards all classes. I make no distinction whatever in consequence of class or creed, and I extend no bid for the support of any class or creed. The position of the Irish Catholics and the Irish Protestants is this :—They know that from the Liberal party they will obtain all they can justly claim, whether they give or refuse their support to that party. They know that the Liberal party will always act on the principle of justice, freedom and equal rights, because that is the plank upon which we stand. They know they have nothing whatever to gain in supporting us, because they will not gain one jot or title beyond what those principles of justice, freedom and equal rights require. They know they have nothing to lose by opposing us, because they know, however strenuous their opposition may be, it will not make us one whit less earnest or less active in the promotion of their interests and of the common interests according to the same principles of justice, liberty and equal rights. And, therefore, there is no need for them to turn their votes one way or the other in order that they may obtain from the Liberal party their meed of justice and liberty.

I say to you then, that I have striven to re-unite all our old friends of whatever origin or faith. I have striven to arouse the indifferent to their public duty. I have striven to enlist in our forces new adherents from the ranks of the more independent and thoughtful men of the community ; I have striven to gain recruits amongst the young, the hope of the Canada-to-be. (Loud applause.) Thank God !

I HAVE MEASURABLY SUCCEEDED.

And the good work goes on. *I do not desire the support of any man, Irish or French, Scotch, English or German, Protestant Catholic or Jew, on grounds of race or creed, on grounds of prejudice or passion, on grounds of ancient quarrels, or long-dead issues. But I do desire, and I believe I will receive, a fair share of support from all origins and all religions among my fellow-countrymen, based on their belief in the policy I set forth, the principles I hold, the political faith in which I hope to live and die.* (Loud and prolonged applause.)

PARTIES AND NEWSPAPERS.

“Mail” and “Globe” compared — Independence of “Globe” —
 . “The ‘Globe’ beats it hollow.”

At Orillia MR. BLAKE said :—Before I pass to the discussion of general politics, I wish to say a word or two with reference to some of Sir John Macdonald’s recent utterances in the course of the public discussion which has been taking place throughout the Province. I see that you yourselves have very lately been visited by the grand combination. (Loud applause and laughter.) I have read with interest the accounts of their proceedings everywhere. The troupe is large, the scenery is fair, the play is well put on, and there is some good acting talent on the stage. (Laughter.) But somehow the parts don’t seem to suit the actors, nor the play the audience. (Laughter.) It does not take. And I am not surprised. I incline to agree with the correspondent of, I believe, Mr. White’s paper, the *Montreal Gazette*, who wrote :

At Markdale, Sir John went through the train and shook hands with every one, lifted his hat to the ladies and chucked a score or more of the babies under the chin. Sir John probably made more votes by this one act than did the speeches of himself and colleagues. (Laughter.)

I don’t know how many votes Sir John gained by shaking hands with the ladies and chucking the babies under their chins—(laughter)—but I quite agree that he was likely to gain more that way than by such speeches of himself and his colleagues as I have read. (Great laughter.) At first each meeting was declared better than the last. Mr. Thompson said at Hamilton :—

The Owen Sound meeting was certainly the greatest demonstration he had ever seen ; but it was excelled at Walkerton ; Walkerton was excelled in West Huron (which he called “one of the strongholds of the enemy”) ; and now Hamilton is the largest yet !

(Laughter.) But this couldn’t go on forever, you know—(laughter)—things have rather palled ; the meetings have somewhat lost interest ; and the actors seem to have realized this and rather lost their temper, too—(laughter)—and they have latterly indulged in even more than the usual large Tory allowance of vituperation, scolding, and abuse. Perhaps they thought it necessary to fire the party heart. (Laughter.) Some of us are called liars ; another Ananias ; and the last flowers of polite eloquence were added to the bouquet by Mr. Chapleau last night when he called

Mr. Cameron a skunk and Mr. Laurier a free-thinker. (Hisses.) I have not been spared, but I do not intend to retort in kind; I acknowledge my inferiority in and my dislike for Billingsgate; yet, though I had rather spend a whole night in public than one single instant in personal discussion, I am moved to say a few words to you on some of

THE HUMOURS OF THIS TRAVELLING SHOW.

Personal appeals are being extensively used; among them the cry of rallying to the old man who is so soon to quit the scene. (Laughter.) This is a very ancient dodge. I remember it in 1872, and at every general election since it has come out, with the weevil, the potato-bug, the Hessian fly, and the other old stories. (Loud laughter.) Lately, I see these appeals are constant, and you are being told daily of an early departure from the stage. But you know how often great actors have made their very last appearances. (Laughter.) I am heartily glad to be able to quiet your apprehensions, and to tell you that it is very good acting, but that you need not be alarmed; he is not half as ill as they think. (Laughter.) You all remember how poorly the wolf made out to be when he was luring innocent Red Riding Hood to her doom. But his appetite was good, as she found to her cost; and as you will find to yours if you allow yourselves to be lured in like fashion. (Loud laughter.) He wants you to bend over him in sympathy, to catch his last pious words, to reverence him as we do the dying saint, who cries, as he has cried, "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." But don't be alarmed, don't be over sympathetic, spare your sighs and tears. (Laughter.) When the occasion serves, he sings in a quite different and truer key. Listen to him a few weeks ago at Brantford, in exuberant spirits, and with a great flow of language of the choicest order. Thus he descanted then:—

The Government is patriotic and generous, and they are satisfied, so long as Canadian industries thrive, no matter if they are in the hands of the old boy himself. (Laughter.) You may have noticed in the *Globe*—that truthful paper—it always tells the truth if you read it backward—well, it told you that I was in a very bad state of health; they said I was fading away, and, as everything depended on me, that as soon as I went down away went the Conservative party, and in came the party of purity and retrenchment. If there is any Grit in the crowd who has been afraid I would die immediately, let him look at me now. If the Grit stock is dependent on my living I am afraid it will drop considerably.

Last winter I had a very painful attack of sciatica—what the Irishman called toothache in his leg—and blisters and other sweetmeats were applied to it; and one of my friends, a rather amusing party, said: "It is too bad that the whole interests of Canada and the Conservative party should depend on a fly-blisther." But, gentlemen, I have got rid of the fly-blisther, and I am

as good as new, and God willing I am going to lead the party to victory at the polls next year.

It is true this was on the afternoon of and next door to Haldimand, when he thought he was going to win. (Laughter.)

It is just possible that the result there may not have been tonic, it may have produced a little nervous depression, a little debility, in the political part of the organization. (Laughter.)

But only there, we may be thankful to believe, for I see he said the other day here at Orillia :—

But I never give up a thing, ladies ; when I take up a case I generally carry it through. I won't allow myself to be contented. Only give me the chance. I am going to retire from the Government some day, and I will be an independent member, and then carry it through. (Applause.) And if I am not too old I will ask the young ladies in return to give me a kiss.

So you see all will be well. We shall have him in the flesh for a long time yet ;

WE SHALL BEAT HIM AT THE POLLS

—(cheers)—but he will remain in Parliament, and so obtain the opportunity he craves to ingratiate himself with the young ladies, and to receive from their hands, or rather from their lips, the longed-for reward of his gallantry. (Loud laughter.) So may it be! I have told him before now that I heartily wished him a long day, for I knew of no man who needed more time for repentance, and I would feel happier if I were only sure he would use that time wisely ! (Laughter.)

But, gentlemen, joking aside, this has a serious aspect, for more than once have Reformers been charged with cherishing a wish or hope based on the demise of their opponents, and I have been obliged, as I now do, to repudiate with scorn and indignation the imputation of such barbarous and inhuman wishes. (Cheers.) We do, indeed,

IN OUR COUNTRY'S INTEREST,

desire the removal from power of the Tory chief ; but for himself we wish health, wealth, and prosperity ; and are glad to think all these are well within his grasp. (Loud cheers.)

But other appeals are being used, and enforced by scriptural illustrations.

Now, we have all heard of somebody quoting Scripture ; and I do not object, therefore, to Sir John's doing it ; but I object to his following the rejected method of the earlier quoter. He said at Stratford :—

Mr. Blake was a very able man ; but he was consumed with ambition.

So long as Mordecai sat at the king's gate, so long would Haman envy him.

He hoped Mr. Blake would never meet Haman's fate and hang on a gallows forty feet high.

He believed that the people would stand by him, and keep Mordecai sitting at the king's gate, notwithstanding all the calumnies, all the unfounded charges made against him.

So I am consumed by ambition and envy! Little he knows me! If there is one thing I personally wish above another, it is to be once more in the ranks, instead of at the head of the Liberal party. If there is one thing I personally dislike more than another, it is the possibility of acceding to office. I am bound in my country's interest to labour for success in this contest; but, if the people decline it, I shall be personally grateful, and cheerfully accept their decision. But

SIR JOHN INDULGES IN BIBLE READINGS.

(Laughter.) Sometimes he makes Sir Richard Cartwright Haman; and him he hangs. (Laughter.)

Then he makes me Haman; and is kind enough to hope I may not hang, or at any rate not on so tall a gallows. (Laughter.)

I will pay Sir Richard Cartwright the compliment of saying that if Sir John were offered his choice he would condemn him rather than me to the last penalty, not that he loves me more, but that he hates me less. (Laughter.)

But whoever is his Haman, his Mordecai is always the same. (Laughter.) *There is always one Mordecai, the virtuous, humble, modest adapter of the story.* (Laughter.) The version does not seem to me accurate; it should be a revised version.

Mordecai, as I read the story, was, when he sat in the king's gate, which was not at all the place Sir John fancies,

ONLY A POOR HONEST FELLOW, IN OPPOSITION,

without power, place, or patronage, but doing the best he could for king and country, and able to render conspicuous, though, for a long time, forgotten and unrewarded service. (Cheers.)

Mordecai was an independent fellow, too, and refused to bow the knee and pay extraordinary deference to Haman, as his camp followers did; in fact, he opposed Haman, and this roused Haman's wrath. Such was Mordecai.

Haman, on the other hand, was the First Minister of the Crown. (Laughter.) He was probably President of the Council—(laughter)—and as the kingdom stretched from India to Ethiopia, he was doubtless Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs. (Loud laughter.) He was the ruler of the State; he was en-

trusted with the power of the Crown ; he had the ear of the court ; he went about in all the pomp and trappings of a great lord.

There were no railways then ; else, no doubt, he would have had his own private special palace car "Assyria"—(laughter)—with its proper attendants, and fittings for repose, and collations, and pleasures ; all provided, together with gifts of "barbaric pearl and gold," as marks of the attention of the highly subsidized, and deeply grateful, and earnestly expectant Indo-Ethiopian Railway Company, at a cost of many thousands of shekels, practically supplied out of the Treasury. (Loud laughter.) Else, no doubt, Haman would thus have made his progresses through the land he ruled, with his attendant and humble satellites, or to use a very recent metaphor of another and very different personage, like "a comet with its tail." (Laughter.) No great public meetings were then in vogue, garnished with mottoes and decorations expressive of devotion and loyalty to the King's Minister ; else doubtless Haman would have had the meetings and the decorations and mottoes too, with

A BIG DRUM TO MARK THE TIME TO CHEER.

(Laughter.) You remember that in a great progress made by a Russian ruler through the waste places of the Empire, ready-made villages, all provided with smiling inhabitants and triumphal arches, were set up to greet the monarch as she passed, and were moved on at night to be ready to welcome next day the royal train. So perhaps might Haman, too, have carried along with him the evidences of spontaneous enthusiasm, destined to be flung to the winds at each stage, and to rouse the people's zeal. (Laughter.) No ! poor Haman had not all these luxuries and marks of greatness and contrivances for stage effect ; they were reserved for later ages and more modern Ministers. (Laughter.) But doubtless he had a store of fine Arabian horses, or perhaps a special elephant, with a palace howdah—(laughter)—and a body-guard of ancient—I dare say not differing much from modern—dependents ; and all the wives and concubines that his laxer age allowed to kings and great men. (Laughter.) But Haman was not satisfied with place and power, office and emoluments, pomp and grandeur, wives and concubines ; he wanted to destroy poor Mordecai, who was out in the cold as it was. (Laughter.)

And Haman was guilty of treason to his trust ; he used his official power to harrass his royal master's people over whom he was set. (Cheers.) He procured by false pretences, authority to destroy a large number of industrious subjects in the King's name, and he had gone far towards the accomplishment of his plot, when the people at last found it out. (Cheers.)

Just then Mordecai's long services were also remembered and recognized. (Loud cheers.)

AND SO IT HAPPENED THAT HAMAN WAS TURNED OUT OF HIS OFFICE, STRIPPED OF HIS POWER, AND ACCORDING TO THE STERN FASHION OF THAT DAY, HANGED. (Laughter.)

And, Haman thus disposed of, Mordecai was promoted to his vacant place and office. (Cheers.) He became Prime Minister in his room, and showed a delightful contrast to Haman, earnestly advancing the peace and welfare of the people whom Haman had sought to destroy. (Cheers and laughter.) I am far from making any personal application of this story. I do not say it fits present men, or current events. (Laughter.) But I think the application lately made is hardly more consistent with accuracy than it is with modesty or justice. (Cheers and laughter.) There remains yet another question partly personal, but involving also grave public considerations, to which I feel bound to allude. I observe that at this place, Sir John Macdonald referred to our respective relations to

TWO GREAT JOURNALS,

and to their course. He used these words :—

While in Opposition his party never struck below the belt, and in that respect they differed from the Liberal party of to-day. That odoriferous journal, the *Globe*—(laughter)—was the paid organ and slave of Mr. Blake and the Opposition, not like the Conservative paper, the *Mail*, which is quite independent of the present Government, which is owned by rich men, who do not receive their impulse or their instructions from the Conservative Government. We are glad to have an able Conservative paper like the *Mail* supporting us, but it is quite independent of us, as you may know, and in some respects does not accord with the principles and practices of the Government which we maintain, and which we desire to maintain. But the *Globe* is the paid servant of the Liberal party. It is in the hands of Mr. Edgar, the henchman, the whipper-in, the lieutenant of Mr. Blake. Every word appearing in that paper emanates from the Opposition. They are responsible for every attack on myself or on my colleagues ; and if the insinuations are cowardly and the conduct is ungentlemanly, upon the leader of the Opposition, and not upon the miserable tools who print and publish it, the stigma must rest.

And at Sunderland, Sir John Macdonald said :—

What cared he for his miserable traducers, so long as he had his fellow-countrymen standing by him. Not satisfied, however, with reviling him in every respect, his opponents had not hesitated to attack his family. (Cries of "Shame.") He held Mr. Blake responsible for all the attacks made on him. The *Globe* was the serf of Mr. Blake in every respect. It was otherwise with that great Conservative paper, the *Mail*. That paper stood in quite a different position from the *Globe*. It was owned by independent and wealthy men, and its conductors were as independent of him (Sir John) as anyone could be.

Now, I am amazed at

THE AUDACITY OF THESE UTTERANCES.

He says his party never struck below the belt. Why, I do not need to go to his assistants or colleagues or principal supporters.

I do not even need to go to his newspapers. I go to the fountain head. I charge himself with striking, and constantly striking, below the belt. (Cheers.) I will not complicate matters by referring to attacks upon myself at all. Nor will I enlarge upon the cases. It would take all night. *Just look at his attacks upon that pure, upright, and universally respected statesman, Alexander Mackenzie.* (Loud applause.)

He charged him at Lindsay with being concerned as a member of the Ontario Government in raising large sums as a corruption fund from Government timber licensees.

He charged him in Toronto with making a corrupt bargain with the Nova Scotia Minister to secure from Canada for Nova Scotia \$84,000, on condition that the Nova Scotia Government should act against the Dominion Government.

He charged him at Kingston with being implicated in a great oil swindle.

At Sarnia, in Mr. Mackenzie's own county, he charged him with almost all the crimes in the calendar.

He charged that the Provincial Government, of which Mr. Mackenzie was a principal member, was more false, more faithless, more corrupt, than any Government that had ever been known in Canada.

He charged Mr. Mackenzie with having, as the touter of a ring to rob the Indians, introduced a Bill to make good old claims against the poor Indians.

He charged him with being, when chairman of the Parliamentary Printing Committee, the touter and paid servant of the Parliamentary contractors for printing.

He charged him with being the touter in Parliament of a petroleum ring, to get an excise duty imposed, and with having deliberately sold himself for a price.

He charged him as a member of the Provincial Government with having used its power corruptly by granting silver lands in return for election funds.

He declared that these charges would be proven at the next session of Parliament, and he declared that Mr. Mackenzie, by reason of these offences, was unfit to be a representative of the people.

In Parliament he charged Mr. Mackenzie with granting undue favours to contractors, at the loss of many thousands to the country.

You remember the charges about the steel rails, about the Fort William plot, and about the Neebing hotel. Why, *only the other day he endorsed the charge about the steel rails*, saying "there was a steel there." Now, these charges, each and all of them, were false and calumnious. (Loud applause.) I do not think that Sir John Macdonald believed they were true at any time; I am sure he never had the slightest grounds for so believing. (Renewed applause.) No man believes them now. Yet they were made by the gentleman who says his party never struck below the belt. (Great cheering.) If so, the party must be

A GREAT DEAL BETTER THAN THEIR LEADER.

But I will do them the justice to say that in this respect they follow him close at heel! and sometimes even better his instruction. (Loud and prolonged applause.) And so I answer this bold pretension! But I do not at all aver that his conduct is a justification for others being also calumnious. *I only say that he who so belies his opponents cannot complain when they speak the truth, however disagreeable it may be, about himself.* And I will add that no public man I know of has owed so much to the indulgence and forbearance of his opponents in Parliament as Sir John Macdonald. (Cheers.) Now I come to his account of the relations of the leaders to

THE CHIEF NEWSPAPERS.

Sir John Macdonald holds me responsible for personal attacks, he says, in the *Globe*. Well, I have been deliberately slandered and vilely abused, and grossly and unjustifiably attacked in the *Mail* newspaper for many years. The subject of personal attacks in these papers once, or more than once, came up in Parliament, but I declared that I did not hold the Conservative leaders or members responsible for this abuse, unless they should personally endorse it. I declared that I held only one member of the House responsible, Mr. Bunting, the editor of the paper, then member for Welland. (Applause.) I accept for myself no greater responsibility than I impose on others. I do not know, nor do I care to inquire, to what particular language in the *Globe* Sir John Macdonald alludes. He seems to study his *Globe* more carefully than I do, but it is quite possible that other and severer language may have been used than I have employed or wish to be employed. I have more than once in Parliament and elsewhere expressed my regret at the violence sometimes shown by Canadian journals on both sides of politics, and I regret it now. I wish it could be moderated; that rests largely with their readers. But I do not propose to take on myself the office of censor, or to pass a judgment.

THE "GLOBE" CAN TAKE CARE OF ITSELF;

it is responsible for what it says. I am responsible for what I say, and I have, though with regret and reluctance, felt constrained by public duty to state my views on some phases of Sir John Macdonald's career. I have done so plainly, but moderately; I have not gloated over these topics. Touching them but rarely and with regret, I have quitted them gladly; and I will only say to-night that I have nothing to retract for myself. The *Globe* will speak for itself, no doubt. Sir John Macdonald, however, draws an amusing distinction between the relations of the two leaders to the two papers. There is, perhaps, a distinction; but it is altogether the other way; it is altogether against himself.

THE "GLOBE" WAS FOUNDED

by Mr. Brown upon the basis of his own energy and resources; it was so maintained. A long time since it passed into the hands and is now the property of a numerous and wealthy proprietary. It has never owed anything to Government or Opposition, to leaders or to patronage. It used for many years to be called my master. (Laughter.) Sir John Macdonald now calls it my slave, my serf, my paid organ. (Renewed laughter.) I see he is very fond of giving me slaves. He made me a present at Sunderland yesterday of Mr. Cockburn, now here on the platform, whom he then declared another slave of mine. (Great laughter.) I think we Liberals must turn our attention to passing an Emancipation Bill to free all these slaves (laughter); but I hope care will be taken to give proper compensation to the fortunate owner of the slaves for his loss of the valuable chattels of which he is to be deprived. (Applause and laughter.) No, Mr. Chairman,

THE "GLOBE" NEVER WAS EITHER MY MASTER OR MY SLAVE.

(Tremendous cheering.) I call no man master, nor would I allow any others to call me master. (Renewed cheering.) The *Globe* newspaper has never had any relations of money or of business or of dependency with me. I never owned a share of its stock; I was always decided not to be in any way mixed up in its affairs. I am glad to know that its proprietary are in general accordance with the Liberal party, and that it ably maintains in its general course Liberal principles. *We value the independent support it gives to those principles; the support it gives to the party because it agrees with the party; not in spite of its disagreeing on cardinal and pressing and vital questions with the party.* Support

which should be given under those circumstances, like that given by the *Mail* to-day to the Tories, would savour of dependence and dishonesty, of secret understandings and tortuous dealing, and would be in my eyes not valuable, but despicable. (Cheers.) That is all I have to say as to the *Globe*, save that I happened to hear yesterday, with a pleasure which I am sure you will share, that IN THE HISTORY OF THAT GREAT JOURNAL THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A TIME WHEN ITS CIRCULATION WAS SO LARGE, ITS ADVERTISING SO EXTENSIVE, OR ITS FINANCIAL PROSPERITY SO GREAT AS NOW. (Loud and prolonged applause.) Long may it endure as an

INDEPENDENT EXPONENT OF LIBERAL VIEWS.

(Renewed applause.) Never may it present the humiliating spectacle of an endeavour to support its party by taking, on a base calculation of results, one side, and pressing forward one set of views, while the party leaders mildly profess to differ, but take the advantage all the same! (Cheers.) Never may it be seen running with the hare while the party leaders hunt with the hounds, on a secret understanding that the whole business is on shares, and that the political profits are to be duly divided when the game is found and caught! (Shouts of applause.) But while the *Globe* is "my slave," and "my serf," and my "paid organ," and I am "responsible for every word it says," Sir John coolly disowns all responsibility for the *Mail*, not merely for its personal attacks or occasional articles or casual correspondence, but for its settled and long-continued and daily enunciated policy. He takes all the benefit of that policy; he proposed to repudiate all the risks and loss! It won't do. (Cheers and laughter.) *For more than a year the Mail has steadily kept up an anti-Quebec and an anti-Catholic howl. It has roused the bigotry of its Orange friends, the backbone of the Tory party in Ontario. It has excited to the best of its power the susceptibilities, the apprehensions, and the jealousies which we know remain in the minds of some well-meaning but too nervous Protestants, who, not so confident as I am in the power of the truth, the strength of evangelical religion, and the progress of the age, still dread that a Roman Catholic minority may overbear and dominate a Protestant majority in Ontario and in Canada. (Cheers.) It has agitated in a deceitful and cruel manner, on a line upon which it can do no good to them, whatever harm it may inflict, the English Protestant minority of Quebec. It has provoked the race prejudices of the English-speaking Canadians against their French brethren, and has so done its best to arouse like feelings on the other side.*

IT HAS PREACHED A HOLY WAR ;

it has preached a French war; it has proposed revolutionary changes in the constitution, in order to help the Quebec English against the Quebec French: and forsooth to help the Quebec French against themselves. It has sought to raise the spectre of Roman Catholic aggression and French domination. It has called aloud to all the Protestants and all the English-speaking races to band themselves together against the French and the Catholics. It has invoked the aid of the Liberals as well as others in this new departure. And all

TO WHAT PRACTICAL END,

I ask you to-night? *Why, just to help Sir John Macdonald and the Tory party!* That is the be-all and the end-all of the new policy! (Great applause.) You know the old proverb, "All roads lead to Rome." The *Mail* evidently has for some time understood that proverb as applying, not to the locality of the Imperial city, but to the religion of which Rome is the centre. (Laughter.) *But the Mail has also been diligently acting upon the spirit of the proverb, and reflecting that it may be read to mean "All roads lead to the ballot box—you go one way, I'll go the other way; you wear one colour, I'll wear the other; you go by day, I'll go by night; you take one password, I'll take the other; it's all right; we will meet at the polls and bring our sheaves with us."* (Tremendous applause and laughter.) But, says Sir John, "for form's sake you must allow me to say one deprecatory word. It shall be mild and apologetic, it shall be accompanied by, nay, it shall be overshadowed by, praise and acknowledgments; it shall, on the whole, help you and not hurt you—but one little word I must say, you know, else——." "Certainly," says Mr. Bunting, "and I must have the same license, and I will use it in the same way. It's all right. Even hard words break no bones, but we don't do each other any harm:

WE UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER THOROUGHLY."

And so the comedy is played, so the actors make their bow, and so you are all to believe that he is not responsible—he will take the profit, but will not share the loss. (Laughter.) But what is the reason which he gives for the distinction between us? His reason, as he declares, is because the proprietor of the *Mail* is wealthy and independent. It may be so; but I believe that in wealth and numbers and independence that of

THE "GLOBE" BEATS IT HOLLOW.

(Loud applause.) Why, who founded the *Mail*? Sir John Macdonald. (Great cheering and laughter.) He, then First Minister, promoted the subscriptions to its stock, took stock himself, and got his contracting and expectant friends and hangers-on to take more.

The Northern Railway, a bankrupt concern, indebted in millions, which it could not pay, to the public treasury, yet found some money out of its poverty to pay for stock to establish the Minister's favourite paper and party organ! (Applause.) *It was our money. But it went, not to pay the debt to us, but to found Sir J. Macdonald's organ.* I believe, on the whole, a hundred thousand dollars was spent in the enterprise. But, as you know, the earlier expenditure in founding a great paper is sunk. It is not lost in one sense, but it is sunk in the effort. The paper got into trouble. It was mortgaged to its paper merchant, and the equity of redemption was, I believe, bought by Mr. T. C. Patteson, the editor, and he managed and edited it for a time, stabbing the Grits, as he said, under the fifth rib every morning. (Laughter.) Still the interest of the Government was shown in its fortunes. They forced the superannuation of Mr. Leslie, and made Mr. Patteson postmaster of Toronto, one of the best places in the service. That valiant rib-stabber thus received his reward. Then, I believe, the paper fell into the hands of its mortgagee and paper merchant, and is now controlled by his estate. A subsequent editor was furnished, I am told, through a member of the Government. That editor was Mr. Griffin; and, when the party interest required a change in the daily mud-slinger, a new office was created for Mr. Griffin, and a fat one too, a joint librarianship of Parliament at \$3,000 a year. Mr. Griffin so reaped his reward for the vile slanders which from day to day he poured forth for years on the Liberals of Canada; and the paper was so relieved, at the public expense, from his further connection with its columns. For some years, as you know, Mr. Bunting has had control; and you are all aware of his close relations with Sir John Macdonald. You know them in Parliament and elsewhere. You know that he got him elected for Welland, and tried to get him elected for West Durham. You are perfectly familiar with the obviously close, intimate and confidential relations of the paper to the party leader, the party conventions, the party members, the party interest. *Why the relation of the "Mail" to Sir John Macdonald is that of the child to the father, the creature to the creator; to him it owes its being; and unless it be unnatural it must regard and reverence its parent.* (Loud applause and laughter.) I re-

tort his charge upon him. I say that the distinction is altogether in my favour and against him, and I say that if in either case it be fair to hold the leader responsible for the general conduct of the paper it is quite obviously rather the case of the *Mail* and Sir John Macdonald than of the *Globe* and me. (Loud cheers.) Do you remember a single letter which appeared in the *Globe* just before the election of 1882, in which were given the opinions of a Montreal manufacturer on the subject of a certain class of factory operatives? Those remarks were given as coming from the manufacturer, and from him only, and were duly enclosed between quotation marks. Do you remember that the Tories made the whole Reform party responsible for that letter? Meetings were held to denounce it, and to denounce us, and the Tories carried several ridings just because they made the party responsible for that letter. It was not just. Even if you are to impute responsibility, there is, as I have indicated,

A WIDE DIFFERENCE

between a single letter, and a casual or occasional utterance, and a long continued, systematic policy. But I have no idea that these men are to be allowed to play the double game. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. (Loud applause.) They shall drink of their own draught! (Cheers.) They shall learn that they cannot lay down one set of rules for their opponents and another for themselves. But these are not all or even the main considerations which call for your attention. *I say that the settled policy of the "Mail" newspaper for over a year derives, after all, its chief importance from the fact that it is the expression of the deepest seated feelings and the strongest wishes of the backbone of Sir John Macdonald's party in Ontario.* At last these feelings are no longer suppressed; at last they are expressed. At last you have a

DAILY "ORANGE SENTINEL"

in the shape of the *Mail*. At last what they so long thought they are saying. Sir John Macdonald has at last found that he can no longer carry on in precisely the same way the game he has played for so many years and by which he has so often triumphed. (Cheers.)

You remember Sir John Macdonald's difficulties in later years—difficulties which became obvious in 1882. You remember that he arranged to take Mr. John O'Donohoe into the Government. But the Orangemen rebelled. Mr. O'Donohoe was too Irish to be an Irish representative. (Laughter.) And then Sir John made one of his usual shifts, and several of his usual promises. And he

found an Irishman who was little enough of an Irishman for the place. And him he made his Minister, by the grace of the Orange Tories. (Cheers.) And then he wrote

HIS LETTER TO THE BISHOPS

—that precious letter which saw the light last session. Here it is :—

(Private and Confidential.)

TORONTO, June 5, 1882.

MY DEAR LORD,—Mr. O'Donohoe will tell you of the TEMPEST THAT HAS BEEN RAISED HERE IN TORONTO on account of the supposition that HIS VIEWS ARE EXTREME AS TO THE IRISH QUESTION. This might destroy his future, and it has, therefore, been arranged between the Hon. F. Smith and O'Donohoe that the former is to represent the Irish Catholics in the Cabinet, while O'D. will get a seat in the Senate.

FRANK SMITH IS TO MAKE WAY FOR O'DONOHUE IN THE MINISTRY WHEN THEY THINK THE TIME IS OPPORTUNE. Those two gentlemen are acting in perfect accord, and desire that I should explain to your Lordship the nature of their arrangement, which, of course, MUST BE KEPT A PROFOUND SECRET AT PRESENT.

Believe me, my dear Lord, faithfully yours,

(Signed),

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

(Loud cheers.) Yes, after four years we were allowed a peep into the closet, and saw the skeleton in the corner. (Renewed cheers and laughter.) You know how I dealt with the peculiar relations of two of the wings of Sir John Macdonald's following in my speech on the Orange Bill in 1884. I showed the condition of things as it then stood; and I am going to trouble you with some extracts from my speech, as they bear very markedly on current events. I said :

Our religious opinions should be held entirely separate from our political leanings. No greater calamity can befall a community than when the cleavage of political parties is coincident with the cleavage of religious bodies. That is a great calamity and misfortune. I am anxious that, whatever our creeds or religious opinions may be, we should feel that they have nothing whatever to do with our political opinions, and that we should agree or differ on political questions entirely irrespective of the faith we may happen to hold on religious questions. The more you set up, as a combination, a great Protestant society, which is also a great political association, the more you make coincident, or strive to make coincident, the lines of division for the religious and the political convictions of the people, and act directly in the teeth of what I believe to be for the benefit of the State. Our political differences are bitter enough without introducing into them religious differences, and if the odium theologicum, which is known to be so bitter, is to be accentuated by political differences, it will become intolerable. Let us endeavour then not to make coincident the lines of division for political and religious opinions. Yet this society, which under the guise of religion and benevolence, is in Ontario largely and chiefly political in its power and efficacy, is doing this very thing, which I believe to be for the public evil and not for the public good.

Then I showed that while at first the promoters of the measure blamed the Roman Catholic Conservatives rather than the Protestant Reformers, they soon changed their ground in their zeal for their party. I said :—

There, you see, Mr. Speaker, the disposition to which I refer, to blame those Roman Catholic members who voted against the Bill, and to deal rather lightly, as the hon. gentleman did at Ottawa, with Protestant Reformers. Then Major White said at Winnipeg: "The Association has not the influence it ought to have, because the members were not true to each other. The brethren should see to it that in all municipal and legislative bodies they had men who would truly represent them. In the past they had taken the broad view that a man's religion should not be a bar to his political preferment; but the conduct of the Roman Catholic members of the House demonstrated that they could not represent Protestants, much less Orangemen." There again, you see the same disposition—a disposition to blame the Roman Catholic Conservative members for not voting for the Bill, to declare that it was a measure that they should have supported, and to threaten them with general ostracism in parliamentary and municipal matters.

Mr. White—We will grant them absolution before next election.

Mr. Blake—I am glad the hon. gentleman has the frankness and manliness to avow it. The official organ of the Orange body says :—"The bigotry displayed on Monday by every French and Irish Roman Catholic member of the House of Commons has, however, opened our eyes, and in future we shall know how to act. As we said, although the Reformers acted foolishly and illiberally, still we think, under the present state of Canadian politics, an excuse may be found for their action; but none whatever can be offered for the course pursued by the Roman Catholic Conservatives, and upon their shoulders, in the greatest measure, must rest the onus of our defeat." There again, you see the first line taken by the promoters of the Bill—they were prepared to charge the Roman Catholics, whether Conservatives or Reformers, and particularly Conservatives, with the onus of the defeat of the Bill. The *Sentinel* says :—"For years past the Orangemen of the Dominion have, under various political pretexts, and to meet the exigencies of political parties, been induced to support Roman Catholics at the polls; but the measure of bigoted intolerance with which our liberality was met in the vote upon our Bill, precludes any possibility of this mistake again occurring."

The *Sentinel* goes on to say, with respect to the leader of the Conservative party :—

"The leader of the Conservative party has been charged with insincerity in his efforts to have the Bill passed, and while we believe that personally he has acted with the greatest sincerity towards us, and has used all his influence to obtain for us the redress we sought, still we cannot close our eyes to the fact that it is the first measure introduced since 1878, with his approval and sympathy, which has received such a weak support."

Now, Sir, that was the first start. That was the way the promoters of this Bill began to conduct the political campaign towards procuring a second reading this session of the Orange Bill.

AFTER THE DEFEAT

they were honest enough to say that they had not much to expect from the Reformers. They did say that they had a right to expect from the Conservative Roman Catholics their support of the Bill, and they showed the true principles of their leading men, in the observations I have just now read,

as to the ostracism they proposed to pronounce on Roman Catholics generally, in consequence of the course of the Roman Catholic Conservatives with reference to the Bill. I have said that in Ontario the Orange Society is mainly a political organization ; and I say that it subordinates all other considerations—its leaders cause it to subordinate all other considerations—to the political and party consideration. That is proved by the course which was pursued shortly afterwards. Their tactics were changed, and they seemed to think it would not do to continue blaming the Roman Catholic Tories for opposing the Bill, that this might disturb the political alliances ; and that they must throw the odium on the Protestant Liberals, and on me particularly, as what they call an Ultramontane Protestant. It would not do to go on saying that the Roman Catholic Conservatives had done wrong, and that they must not return Roman Catholics to Parliament, and the hon. gentleman did not wait until the next election to grant absolution. He granted absolution at once, and he turned the condemnation upon us, from whom, for a little space of time, he was just enough to say he had no right to expect much. And why was this done ?

Mr. White (Hastings)—Read what I said.

Mr. Blake—I have read what the hon. gentleman said—is he not satisfied ? I cannot read all his speeches, but I shall gratify him. There was a meeting to which I have already referred, held in Ottawa immediately after the defeat of the Bill, at which an address was presented to him, and the address contained the following paragraph :—“ From the proceedings in Parliament on the Orange Incorporation Bill, we have learned a bitter, but salutary lesson, and one that will bear fruit in due season. While we disclaim an intolerant spirit, we declare that henceforth the Roman Catholics must be prepared to reap as they have sown, and that if we are such disturbers of the peace as they declare us to be, we will for the future abstain from voting for them, and so deprive them of the power to mortify us by refusing to grant to us the same rights that we have always cheerfully accorded to them.” The hon. gentleman’s answer was as follows :—“ Many Conservative members had asked and begged of him not to ruin them, but he told them that he would stand by the Order first. Another mistake was that of assisting to elect a Frenchman in Russell, and an Irish Roman Catholic (Mr. Baskerville) in Ottawa city, and he said he was now ashamed of his actions ; he hoped the Orangemen would forgive him for asking them to vote for Baskerville. There are very few Hawkinses. One Roman Catholic member of the House, whose name he did not like to mention, said to him privately :—‘ How can we vote for this Bill when the priest says he has power from the Pope to damn those of his constituents who dare vote for a candidate for parliamentary honours, who would support such a measure.’ If the Conservatives would not stand true to us, then let us be Reformers. He likened them, at the present day, as being between the devil and the deep sea—the Roman Catholics and the Reformers.”

Mr. White (Renfrew)—One word ; I believe the hon. gentleman is reading from the *Ottawa Free Press*.

Mr. Blake—I am reading from *Hansard*. I do not know where the report was taken from, but it was read in the House, and hon. gentleman did not repudiate it. “ He kindly praised the Reformers who supported the Bill. He believed Mr. Blake had made a mistake in voting against the second reading. It was, at that time, within his grasp to have the united Orange vote of Ontario.” Now, sir, as I have said, the Tory politicians who lead and direct, and control the bulk of the Orangemen of Ontario, believed it would not do to continue the battle with their own allies, and, as politics are the main ingredient in their view of the Order, as it is for the propagation of their own party politics that they work the Order, they decided on taking another course :

and the fight which existed against the Roman Catholic Conservatives was put to one side, and the guns were turned against us. Sir, it reminds me of the story of the Irish duel. The First Minister with the hon. Minister of Customs on one side, and the hon. Minister of Public Works, with the hon. Minister of Inland Revenue on the other, met in a coffee-room with hostile intent.

THEY MET TO FIGHT

the battle to the bitter end ; and the poor innocent fellow who was taking his breakfast upstairs, away by himself, was astonished by a bullet coming through the floor and striking him in the leg. He asks the waiter what is going on, and he replies :—"Sure it is only Mr. Moriarty and Captain O'Toole fighting a dual, but thanks be to God they both fired in the air." The gentleman upstairs with the bullet in his leg did not thank Providence at all. This duel between the First Minister and the Minister of Customs on the one hand, and the Minister of Public Works and the Minister of Inland Revenue on the other ; this great demonstration of hostility, of voting squarely against one another ; all this fire and fury and blood and thunder ; all this threatening of slaughter ended by both combatants firing in the air, and hitting the poor fellow up-stairs who had nothing to do with the row. Now, Sir, I do not propose to be hit without protest. As I have said, they have changed their grounds. They have determined that they will not fight with one another, but will attack us ; and what is the present argument ? The present argument is that the contest over this Bill is a contest between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, and that all true Protestants must unite in supporting the Bill against the Roman Catholics. That is the argument ; that is the proposition. You cannot get out of it. And if we do not agree to that proposition, we are to be told—in our religious associations, among those with whom we confer and co-operate in religious work—that we are not true Protestants, because we have not gone against the Roman Catholics by voting for carrying this measure. I have made that statement ; and with reference to that statement, as with reference to the others, I shall produce the proof. But, before doing so, let me give you two short extracts from recent utterances evidencing the same spirit. In November, 1882, a lodge meeting was held at Clover Hall, and an address was delivered by a great man in the Order, the late local member for South Simcoe (Mr. Parkhill). He spoke as follows :—"If he observed the signs of the times correctly, there is as much need of Orangeism, both in Ireland and Canada, at the present moment, as there ever was. True, we may not have to fight, as our forefathers fought, but we must all, whether Grits or Tories, bury our political feeling, and go united to the polls in defence of our Protestant principles." What is the proposition ? I am to be told, being a Reformer, that I must bury my political feelings and join with my friend, Mr. Parkhill, whom I have the pleasure of knowing, and whom I should not suspect, from his appearance, of holding such bloodthirsty principles—that we are to unite against the Roman Catholics. At Rosemont, the hon. member for South Simcoe spoke at a lodge meeting. We are told that "Col. Tyrwhitt, M.P., was warmly received, and made a good practical Protestant speech, in the course of which he referred to the utter want of political principle in the Roman Catholic electorate. The only principle that they held was allegiance to their Church, and to its interests. On such matters Roman Catholic representatives were a unit in the House of Commons. They even had an Irish Catholic party in the House of Commons last session, who met daily to consider their interests. While all this was going on, he was sorry to admit that Orange and Protestant representatives were divided. He counselled organization and unity on the part of all Protestants, irrespective of politics, in order to

stem the aggressive march of the Papacy in this our beloved Dominion." Now this is not old. I am not reviving the buried fires of old days. This is reported on the 4th of January, 1883, and the speech was delivered on the 29th of December, 1882. Then, in the *Sentinel* of 12th July, 1883, these remarks are made :—

"Mr. Blake is the most prominent man in the House who voted against the Bill. He is, at least by profession, the Protestant of Protestants, from whom such a vote was not expected. * * * * * He is, above all, by virtue of his leadership of the Opposition, the member of the Federal Parliament whose vote against incorporation influenced the largest number of his colleagues to vote as they did, in violation of the just rights of large numbers of their constituents. * * * * *

"But Mr. Blake by his vote, threw his great influence in the House against the Bill, and undoubtedly thereby secured its defeat. He stultified his advocacy of Ontario's rights, and he made plain the hollow insincerity of his Protestant principles. His position in the House, his professions of Protestantism, his advocacy of Ontario's rights, made him a prominent target for the censure of Orangemen, because of a vote which, if he were true to his principles and professions he would certainly have never given." Once again you see the assertion that this is a question between Protestant and Catholic, and that a man who professes Protestant principles is insincere if he votes against this Bill. There was also

A LODGE RESOLUTION

reported in the *Sentinel*—"We are not surprised at Roman Catholic members who put religion before party: but we strongly condemn those Protestant members who preferred party before religion." There again this is made a religious question. We are told that we voted for our political party and against our religious principles. * * * * * Then, Sir, the hon. member for Brockville (Mr. Wood) is reported to have said :—"No doubt there is danger in the air, and the Orangemen of Ontario should become the Ultramontane Protestant party in Ontario, in contradiction to the Roman Catholic Ultramontanes of Quebec." Then the hon. member for East Hastings (Mr. White) himself, at Woodstock, said :—"The day was not far distant, if we did not show more pluck and courage in opposing the growing influence of the Papacy in this Province, when we should be obliged to fight not as Conservatives or Reformers, but as Protestants, to free ourselves from the trammels which Rome's agents sought to place on us and our institutions." Mr. Marshall, at Winnipeg, said :—"The Bill of Incorporation was not defeated by Roman Catholics, but by Protestants, who were pandering to the Roman Catholic vote. He hoped Brother White would never ask a Catholic member to support the Bill, as he could expect no support from them; and if he did, he gave them credit for more honesty than politicians generally possessed." And I perceive that, only the other day, on the 11th of March, a special meeting of the Middlesex County Lodge was held, at which it was resolved :—"That the County Lodge of the County of Middlesex, of the Loyal Orange Association, is of opinion that, while those who last year voted for our incorporation did but their duty in having shown their willingness to accord us those rights which, we as Orangemen are ever ready to extend to all sections of Her Majesty's loyal subjects, we have no words to sufficiently express our strong condemnation of the course of those Protestant representatives, especially from Protestant Ontario, who, from political spleen, voted to deny us (their Protestant fellow-citizens) those rights which they are always willing sycophantly to grant to Roman Catholics. Resolved further, that we, the representatives of the Orangemen of the County of Middlesex, will not be satisfied until our full rights in the matter of incorporation are properly ac-

corded to us, our motto being "No surrender and no compromise," and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the public press." Now, Sir, I think I have shown to you that, as I have said, the line of attack was altered—that the line of attack upon their party friends, and their religious opponents, who, they at first said ought to support the measure, and who should be ostracised for not supporting it, they were obliged to abandon—in order to strike at their opponents by representing this as a case in which all Protestants ought to combine, and in which no man of true Protestant principles could have given, or could repeat a vote against the second reading of this Bill. Well, that may be true; but if it be true, I ask this House, without distinction of creed or party, if it be not a serious state of things; I ask if it be not a serious state of things that a religious war is to be raised in this country; because that is what it is. If it be the case that, as a matter of fact, this is an issue raised between us, in which all Protestants are to be on one side, and all Roman Catholics on the other, and in which I, a firm Protestant, am to be told that I am untrue to my profession of religion, to my Protestant principles, if I do not vote with the Orangemen and against the Catholics for that Bill, is not that a serious state of things? If this be true, I say that every true lover of this country must deplore such a circumstance, and must forebode the greatest evil to this country from its existence.

Mr. White (Hastings)—You are drawing it pretty strong; you are drawing on your imagination.

Mr. Blake—I have given the text, and I will guarantee that the comments are justified by the text. Now, sir, I deny entirely that there is any such necessity. I deny that there ought to exist such an issue; and I tell the hon. gentleman opposite that no matter what his threats may be, no matter whether he may say that my speech does me harm or good, he will neither seduce, nor threaten, nor drive me on any such issue, into any such line or any such professions. In furtherance of this same plan, this attempt to produce a religious prejudice against those who oppose this bill, the hon. gentleman and others are declaring that I am controlled by the Archbishop of Toronto.

Mr. White (Hastings)—So you are.

Mr. Blake—I tell the hon. gentleman that he states that which is not the fact. Notwithstanding that I am relieved from the necessity of proving my case as to his statement by his own declaration in this House,

I PROCEED TO GIVE THE EVIDENCE

of that as I have given the evidence of other things. He said: "Mr. Mowat was controlled by Archbishop Lynch, and they must come to the conclusion that he, too, controlled Mr. Blake. No doubt orders went from the Palace at Toronto, and the great Reform statesman had to obey." I determined, as soon as I saw this statement of the hon. gentleman, that I would meet him here, face to face, and have this out with him, and have it out with him I will. This is not all. The Rev. Brother Wright, at a meeting in Leeds, said: "They (the Orangemen) were not defeated in Parliament solely by the Roman Catholics, but through the instrumentality of Ontario politicians, who considered the smiles of Rome of greater value than the approbation of their fellow-Protestants. The bill was defeated because Archbishop Lynch said no, Christopher Fraser repeated no, and Edward Blake bowed his head and whispered no." He voted "no" the last time; but I trust that the hon. gentleman will admit that his negative this night is not given in a whisper.

Mr. White (Hastings)—I drove you to it.

Mr. Blake—The hon. gentleman drove me to it! Let him manage his own drove. At Winnipeg, again, the hon. gentleman said: "Unfortunately

Archbishop Lynch had Mr. Mowat bound hand and foot, and it was even hinted he was getting a hard hold on Mr. Blake, and let us hope our own leader will keep his skirts clear."

An hon. gentleman—He has no confidence in the breed.

Mr. Blake—My hon. friend says he has "no confidence in the breed." Now, I have had the honour of the acquaintance, for a considerable time, of His Grace the Archbishop of Toronto, and I hope, being both of us Irishmen, I may even call myself his friend ; but I have never, either directly or indirectly, through others or myself, by speech or writing, or in any way had the slightest communication with Archbishop Lynch on any one political topic of any description whatever—not this one only, but any political topic of any description. For aught I know, unless he has given public utterance to the contrary, that prelate may entertain the same view with reference to the Orange bill as I observe the hon. member for Hastings has said Archbishop Taché does, namely, that he is in favour of its being passed. But I say that in this, as in all other particulars, I have acted entirely upon my own judgment, and wholly free from every—I will not say dictation or control—but attempt at dictation or control, hint or suggestion, knowledge or information as to what the opinions of that prelate, or of any other prelate, or dignitary or persons of the Roman Catholic faith, might be on the subject. I have acted on convictions which I have entertained ever since I came into public life, on convictions which I was known to have entertained in the Local Legislature, and to have expressed, not on the floor of the Legislature, but to leading members, when the question was likely to come up in the Local House, with reference to another secret organization—convictions hostile to the incorporation of secret associations—hostile to the incorporation of the Orange society. It is perfectly true that I am, as the hon. gentleman says, a Protestant, and it is also true—I suppose that is the meaning of his phrase ultramontane—that I am of that school of thought which is most opposed to what I believe to be the dogmatic errors of the Church of Rome. That is perfectly true. I protest against what I deem her errors ; but I am also

AN EARNEST ADVOCATE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

and equality and the full rights of conscience. As the Ontario leaders of the Orange society declare that the province is ruled politically by the Roman Catholic clergy, and that it must be freed from the domination of the Roman Catholic clergy by subverting Mr. Mowat, I notice they have sometimes said a word with reference to the conduct of the Province of Quebec, and as to its rule ; and I desire here to advert to this question, speaking with the same plainness of speech which I have used this evening, though I may perhaps offend some of those who may have listened with approval to some things I have hitherto said. I say I do not find this pretension to be the exclusive right of standard-bearers of Protestant principles, to lay down a rule and measure, with which, unless all Protestants comply, they are to be held untrue to their principles, to be a proper attribute of this association, judged by its leaders in Ontario. I have spoken of Quebec. Now, in that Province there have been, for a long time, some persons—some persons only, I am glad to say—who have striven to create that clerical *régime* in favour of their own party, who have insisted on extreme pretensions as to the rights of the clergy to use their influence in elections ; who have sought to drag the clergy into the political arena ; who have sought to pervert certain general language, which was used by the authorities of the Church, from its true sense, and to turn it to the condemnation of one political party ; who have sought to maintain the view that the clergy should refuse the rites of the Church to persons on account of their votes ; who have sought to repeal the law as to undue influ-

ence, as far as it affected the clergy ; and there can be no doubt that these efforts on the part of some persons in Quebec met in the past with a measure of success. Pressure was used in several counties against the candidates of one political party, as Liberal Catholics ; and the struggle was severe, and resulted in a great weakening of that party, from which it has not even yet recovered. The members of that party appealed, under these circumstances, to three tribunals ; they appealed to public opinion, to the highest courts of the land, and to the highest authorities in their own Church. They fought a long and arduous fight, which reached its climax, perhaps, in the period from 1875 to 1881. Public opinion, one of the tribunals to which they appealed, was aroused to a considerable degree in the Province of Quebec ; and many Protestants there even changed their political views, and left the party with which they had usually acted, because they felt this pressure was a pressure foreign to the proper sphere of religion and the proper sphere of the Church. The members of that party appealed also to the law ; and the law was vindicated in several cases. They appealed also to the highest authorities in the Church, and those authorities also interfered. We know well, for it is public to us what was done.

I then pointed out, with the proofs, the course of that long controversy, and the ultimate triumph of the right. I added :—

As I have said, there was a long and bitter controversy in the Province of Quebec with some who strove to abuse the power of the Church in the way to which I have referred. That long and bitter controversy was a controversy in which my friends, the Liberals of Lower Canada, were the oppressed party, the party which was being overborne in it, which was suffering from it, in the constituencies ; and, though they have received justice at last in the particular to which I have referred, it is useless to disguise the fact that so long a conflict, waged in that manner and with those weapons, has had a permanently weakening effect. But I want to know where, in all that time, were the Orange Tory leaders of Ontario ? I want to know whether they were helping in the cause which has thus been vindicated in the end ? I want to know whether they were expressing and actively manifesting their sympathy with those who were struggling for the rights which have at length been accorded them ? It is not so ; it is known not to be so. It is true that many of the Protestants of Quebec came to the assistance of the Liberals of Quebec in that struggle, but the Orange Tory leaders of Ontario were unflinching in their support of, and in their consort with, the very members who were waging that controversy against the Quebec Liberals. Why ? Because they were united in political bonds with those members ; because they rejoiced in their success at the polls, although that success was achieved against those with whom they professed to be in sympathy. They were kept in place and power by means of that partnership ; and therefore

THEY WERE UNTRUE TO THE PRINCIPLES

which they professed, and in order to promote which they are now saying they wish to be incorporated. I have declared my views on this subject, and I have nothing to recall in regard to them. I have shown where I am to be found in case any conflict may arise in which any Church—whether Roman Catholic, or Episcopalian, or Presbyterian, or what you will—shall strive to encroach on what I believe to be the just domain of the State. I believe that if you commit to any Church absolute power and control over faith and morals, and if at the same time you commit to that Church absolute and unlimited power to determine what is comprised within faith and morals, you

concede necessarily to that Church absolute power altogether ; and I believe, therefore, that it is quite necessary to remember that there may be a point at which we may be called on to consider what the tenets of the Church, in that particular point of view, are. I have shown that the struggle was fought out within the Roman Catholic Church ; that those rights on which the Liberals of Lower Canada insisted have been vindicated, and that the electors have a right to vote as free men. But should such a struggle recur—which God forbid !—could I, judging from the past, hope for any assistance, could the Liberal party look with hope for any assistance, from the Orange Tory leaders of Ontario ? No, because we have not received it in the past ; and, whatever the views of these leaders, they subordinated them altogether to party politics.

I went on to say:—

These Ontario Orange leaders claim that their object is to advance Protestantism, and they claim to advance it by assertions with reference to the Roman Catholic Church which I believe to be baseless. And here, again, I do not propose to deal with assertions as to dogma. I do not propose to deal with assertions with respect to religion, as to whether certain views are right or wrong, for we have nothing to do with them. But we have to do with their views as to the tenets of that Church, so far as these affect the political condition and social order of the country. These things are of material interest to us ; and it is well that we should know what is advanced in the name of Protestantism, or with a view of promoting it, by the leaders of the Orange society in Ontario. In the *Sentinel* of December 21st, 1882, there is the following, which is headed, “ Allegiance to Rome Only ” :—“ We have always contended that the Romish Church teaches its followers to be disloyal to every State wherein it exists, to recognize the authority of no temporal Government, and to own allegiance only to the Papacy.” On April 26th, 1883, the same paper said :—“ It is hardly necessary to say that every true member of the Church must yield to the Pope, the infallible head of the Church, unquestioning obedience in morals, dogmatic faith or belief, and also conduct of civil affairs. No member of the Church can dispute the right of the head of it to decide infallibly and dogmatically all questions affecting temporal power in Governments any more than he can that of the faith and the belief put forth in her teachings. . . . The people in America are governed by constitutions which leave to themselves the power of determining the character and structure of Government. These constitutions are, therefore, inimical to the Church of Rome, in her opinion, and are only tolerated because they cannot be destroyed. As she is at war with every form of Government not prescribed by herself, it would be her duty to destroy these constitutions if she could ; nay, she would be guilty under her teachings, if she had the power and did not destroy them. . . . Is it not a humiliation that in a country like this a loyal association has been refused the same privileges that are daily granted to those who proclaim the prerogative of a foreign Prince Bishop to be superior to those of Her Majesty and Her Government—privileges daily granted to those whose civil allegiance is firstly to the Pope, and secondly wherever he might direct it, though that should lead to the destruction of the dignities and prerogatives of the Imperial Crown now largely directed by the responsible Ministers of the Government, who hold office at the will of the people ? ” Again in the *Sentinel* of the 8th of November, 1883, the following language is used :—“ It is necessary to keep constantly before the minds of the Orange and Protestant public of the Dominion that Rome is still true to her motto, *semper eadem*. She is the same to-day that she was a hundred years ago, planning, scheming, and contriving to subvert the best liberties and

freest institutions of every State in Christendom." Those are the statements repeated over and over again as to the political attitude of the Church of Rome; and all true Protestants are called upon to occupy an inimical position towards members of that Church on the ground, first of all, that the adherents of that Church do not owe civil allegiance to the Queen of this Dominion and the constitution of this country; second, that they owe civil allegiance to a foreign power; and third, that that power is inimical to free institutions, and that its efforts are directed to subvert them as far as possible. That is their attitude with respect to the Church of Rome and its adherents in Canada to-day. Again, so late as the 19th of February, 1884, at a meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ontario West, the Grand Master—while this Parliament was in session, while this Bill was on the Order paper—referring to the unfortunate affair in Newfoundland, said:—"Brethren, it is the old story. It has been told in Ireland a thousand times. It has been told in Fort Garry, Montreal, and Newfoundland, and shows to us as plainly as the sun at noon-day that when Romanism has the ascendancy Protestants have no rights, and are only tolerated, and that the teachings of Rome are the same to-day as they were in '98—that to break faith with heretics is no sin, and that killing is no murder." Then, sir, in the same speech, he quotes approvingly from a weekly journal these words:—"It (*i. e.*, the Orange body in Ireland) is acting strictly in self-defence, for everybody who has read Irish history, or who listens to Fenian harangues, must know that from the moment when power passed into the hands of Irish Catholics no man of British blood or Protestant religion would ever dwell in safety on the soil of Ireland." Commenting on that statement he says:—"This statement, coming from a gentleman who on more than one occasion has spoken in no friendly terms concerning our Order, shows that the thinking Protestants of this country are becoming alive to the necessity of having a Protestant secret society to counteract the influence of the gigantic secret society of Romanism."

Now, these are statements with which we have to deal to-day.

IF THESE VIEWS BE CORRECT,

if these be accurate statements of the tenets of that Church, then it does not merely hold erroneous views in matters of dogma. The hon. member for Hochelaga (Mr. Desjardins) and myself do not agree in our religious views, and unfortunately we do not agree in politics; but our difference in religion does not mark the difference in our political allegiance. Our differences in religion are questions between us and our consciences, between us and our God, to be disposed of individually by each of us. But these other views, which I have just now read, are of an entirely different character; they go far beyond divergencies of religious opinion. We have here statements of views hostile to the Throne, hostile to free institutions, hostile to the constitution, hostile to social order and safety; views which are destructive of everything which we, in Canada—and I do not place the Catholic below the Protestant—which we as a united people in Canada hold most dear. I say that if you tell me truly that in civil matters the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith do not owe allegiance to the Crown and the constitution, but owe it to a foreign power, then they are not true subjects to the Queen, they are aliens in the midst of our land. If this be so I say that you cannot trust them, and I agree with those gentlemen who sometimes, as was mentioned this evening, say harsh things until "they grant absolution before the elections;" I agree with them that if these are the tenets of that Church, I can well understand their hostility, from a political point of view, to the Roman Catholic religion. If they believe that that Church is hostile to and desires the subversion of our free institutions, of our constitution, I can understand their

hostility going far beyond differences as to dogmas of religion ; I can understand that the institution is one with whose adherents no alliance is to be maintained. Once again, if it is their opinion, and if it be the case, that Roman Catholics believe that no faith need be kept with a heretic, that the killing of a heretic is no murder, then social order and safety are at risk, and we cannot possibly remain at ease if such doctrines as these are theirs. All those who honestly believe these opinions to be true of the Roman Catholic faith or of the adherents of that faith, cannot possibly, if they are lovers of our constitution and our institutions, honestly co-operate with them in politics. It is impossible, sir, that an honest belief in these things, as the actual tenets of that Church, can consist with political co-operation, on the part of those who so believe, with Roman Catholics. On the other hand, all lovers of free institutions should combine against the evil which would be wrought, the pressing evil and danger to our institutions which would exist, if such indeed were the tenets held by such a large proportion of the citizens of this country. The question, then, is a serious one. We have it here ; we have had it within the last few months : we have had it stated as a doctrine of to-day, and the hon. gentleman even now nods assent to it, as the feeling a Tory Orangeman holds with reference to his Roman Catholic fellow-citizens. But

ARE THESE STATEMENTS TRUE ?

Sir, I believe them to be untrue. I believe that the Church of Rome holds many religious doctrines and dogmas most gravely erroneous ; to these I am entirely opposed.

Mr. White (Hastings)—You believe too much ; that is the trouble.

Mr. Blake—Well, perhaps I believe too much. I cannot state that the hon. gentleman believes all he says ; I hope he does. I have endeavoured, in my own poor way, and to the best of my humble ability, to promote the spread of those Protestant principles of dogmatic religion, those views of the Gospel and the Bible, which I hold. I am doing what I can in that direction, and have been for years ; it is not much, but I have done what I could. I believe that a most potent factor in that direction is a greater union among the Protestant denominations, and I have always been desirous of seeing such a union accomplished for the better advancement of the Gospel, according to our views of it. I rejoice to see the evidences of a tendency towards that union, in the existence of those organizations in which ministers and people of various denominations mingle, forget their differences, and learn what is best in each other, and in what points they agree. I rejoice to see Evangelical Alliances, Young Men's Christian Associations, Sunday-school Associations, and Ministerial Associations, such as the one that exists in my own city. I have worked with Orangemen in the Synod of my Church and elsewhere ; they have sympathised with me, and I have sympathised with them. I cared not for our differences in politics ; they have never made the shake of our hands less warm, or our co-operation in the work of our Church less earnest ; and it pains me that hon. gentlemen opposite should seek an occasion of this kind to raise a wall of division, even among those engaged together in Church work, by uttering and circulating these calumnies against me, and by declaring that my Protestant principles are abandoned because I cannot in my conscience support a Bill for the incorporation of a society which propagates opinions like those which I have read. I know that I shall be misrepresented and misunderstood, and that men will be misled, in my Province and elsewhere, as to what I have said to-night. I cannot help it ; I felt it borne in upon me as a duty to say it ; I had to say it. I know that men will be misled by designing politicians who are using the cloak of religion and the cloak of charity to promote party politics. If we could forget our differences, and agree to mingle in all charitable works, irrespective of our faith—as, God be

thanked, although we differ in religion, we may agree in works of charity—it would be a blessed achievement. But to-day what are you doing? You are promoting these calumnies in reference to another Church; you are coming forward and declaring, untruly, as I believe, that the tenets of that Church, from which you differ, are in these respects detestable, and that every true Protestant must take the same position. It is a course of which I hope you will repent before you are many years older. Now, I am anxious for a Protestant ascendancy of one kind—for the spread of those opinions which I believe to be true; but I am anxious that there should be no Protestant ascendancy of the material kind to which the leaders of the Orange Tory party refer, when they speak of that Protestant ascendancy which existed in the past in Ireland, and to which they look backward with such longing eyes. I am not anxious for that kind of Protestant ascendancy, and in my desire to promote my dogmatic faith

I DO NOT COUNTEenance SUCH WEAPONS

as the hon. gentleman and other Tory Orange leaders use. My belief is that my Catholic fellow-subjects do acknowledge allegiance and feel a loyalty to the Crown and the free institutions of this country. My belief is that they do not think that to break faith with a heretic is no sin, and that to kill him is no murder. I have not forgotten the declaration made against such calumnies as these by the Irish prelates, as long ago as the 25th of January, 1825, in a document which contains many statements of faith and doctrine, as to which Protestants and Roman Catholics are as wide as the poles asunder. But it contains two statements which touch our social and political system, and our relations to each other, as citizens of one common country, as follows:—“The Irish Catholics swear that the Catholics of Ireland do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state or potentate, hath, or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm; and this without any mental reservation or dispensation.” The prelates go on to say: “After this full, explicit and sworn declaration, we are utterly at a loss to conceive on what possible ground we could be justly charged with bearing towards our Most Gracious Sovereign only a divided allegiance.” And with reference to the other insulting charge they say this: “The Catholics of Ireland not only do not believe, but they declare on oath that they detest as unchristian and impious the belief that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatever under the pretence of their being heretics; and also the principle that no faith is to be kept with heretics.” There you find distinct statements which contradict allegations which ought not to have been made, and which there ought not therefore to have been necessity for contradicting; and yet, Sir, we find, not ten years ago, not five years ago, not one year ago, but within the past few days, the most offensive of these allegations repeated; allegations which I have shown would, if true, indicate a condition subversive of the free institutions of our country. Now I am not prepared to mark as murderous, as treacherous and disloyal, nearly one-half of my fellow-citizens. I do not believe that the cause of Protestantism, of true religion, the advancement of the Gospel, the peace and prosperity, the welfare and the good government of this Dominion, will be promoted by the State recognition of this secret society, organized and led as it is in Ontario, and devoted to the propagation of views such as those which I have exposed. I do not myself attach, in the discordant dissolution of parties with respect to this Bill, any political significance to the question. I have viewed it from another aspect altogether; I have been anxious that we should understand what the real merits of the controversy are; and in my statement of my objections I have endeavoured to sustain them, not by stale and musty authorities, but by

recent and authentic utterances. But, perhaps, I am wrong ; I dare say that I shall be more bitterly misrepresented than ever before by the Orange Tory leaders ; and as to the Tory Roman Catholic leaders, they, too, the temporary struggle between them and their Orange allies being ended and the alliance revived, will regard me all the more distastefully because I have necessarily shown, either how sham their battle is, or how false and unnatural is their conjunction.

THE TRUE POLICY DEFINED.

But I have this satisfaction, that I have told plainly the truth as I believe it ; and it will be to me an ample reward, if I have succeeded in explaining to moderate men on both sides the views I hold, and in pointing out the true path of duty in a community of diverse races and creeds like ours ; where we must combine firmness in the assertion of our own rights, with fulness in the recognition of the rights of others ; we must cultivate moderation and forbearance ; we must avoid misrepresentation, calumny, and abuse ; we must hold to the ample acknowledgment of each man's individual rights of conscience in religious matters, and of the common citizenship of all in civil affairs, if we would make of Canada a great and free country, inhabited by a happy and united people.

Now I have given you these extracts because they throw light on the situation of to-day. They show the truth of what I said a while ago, that the *Mail* has become

A DAILY "ORANGE SENTINEL."

They show that the very things which the Orange Tories were averring in their lodges in 1884 are the things which the *Mail* now avers ; and that *its platform is the Orange Tory platform*. They show the character of that platform. And here you have the real significance of the position. The Orange Tories of Ontario, without whom Sir John Macdonald cannot stand for one instant, have so far taken the bit in their teeth that they are determined not to be absolutely controlled by Sir John. They will speak now. But they are Tories still. They are Tories above all ; and they are willing to use even their explosions of wrath to help him. In truth they have exploded only when they saw that they could no longer control the almost undivided Roman Catholic vote. *Then it was that their Protestant virtue overcame their political prudence*. But they are still anxious that Sir John should win. And they hope for his triumph by the division of the Liberal Protestants, and through his retention of a large part of his Catholic support. And so there is to be an apparent separation. Sir John, too, has seen that he can no longer himself ride all the horses ; so he has to appoint deputies and assistants. The political performers are to separate. They are to take different paths. *Mr. Bowell and Mr. Bunting take the Orange horse and are passed through the Orange toll-bar ; Sir Hector Lange-*

vin and Mr. Frank Smith ride double on the Catholic steed and travel down the green lane, with its bright blue flowers; while Sir John remains on a piebald animal and is attempting the journey by the old road. (Laughter.) But the goal is the same for all of them—a Tory triumph at the polls. (Cheers.) There they will meet and poll their votes together, and laugh in their sleeves at the fools they have been gulling. (Cheers.) *This shows you the real reason of these explosions of the Mail.* This shows you the real reason why Sir John Macdonald does not denounce the *Mail*, why he is only too mildly deprecatory and apologetic, why his words of apology are covered with words of praise and thanks. It is because *the move is more than the freak of a paper.* It is the voice of the backbone of the Ontario Tory party licensed by its chief. (Loud cheers.)

IT IS A PARTY MOVE.

Here then is the issue that we are called to meet, and if we meet it boldly, ready to suffer if need be, for the right; preferring to suffer for the right rather than to triumph in the wrong—(cheers)—but hoping and believing that the day is passed in this Province of Ontario, when the fires of religious bigotry and race prejudice can be kindled so easily as in the years gone by—(tremendous cheering)—HOPING AND BELIEVING THAT THE CANADIAN PEOPLE HAVE LEARNED TO BE MORE LIBERAL, TO BE MORE JUST, TO BE MORE TOLERANT THAN ONCE THEY WERE; HOPING AND BELIEVING THAT THEY ARE MORE CONSCIOUS THAN ONCE THEY WERE OF THE CLAIMS OF EQUITY AND FAIR PLAY; THAT THEY ARE STRONG ENOUGH TO DO RIGHT; THAT THEY CAN DARE TO BE JUST; HOPING AND BELIEVING THAT THIS LAST AND WORST ATTEMPT OF THE MEN WHO HAVE SO LONG DECEIVED THE PEOPLE WILL MEET WITH A REBUKE STILL MORE STERN, AND A DEFEAT STILL MORE DECISIVE, THAN IF THEY HAD MET THEIR FATE WITHOUT ATTEMPTING TO AVERT IT BY THE DESTRUCTION OF THEIR SACRED CHARGE. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

PROHIBITION AND POLITICS.

Hon. EDWARD BLAKE, after some preliminary remarks, at Aylmer, said :—

I desire, before entering upon a discussion of party political questions, to trouble you with a few words with reference to a question upon which I have been anxious for some time to say something, but that no favourable occasion arose. I do not say that this is a specially favourable opportunity for the purpose, because what I was anxious to find was an occasion upon which no topic of party controversy would arise. But I see such an opportunity is not likely to be found in view of the nearness of the Provincial election, and of the season of the year, and having seen that to be the case, and having found also that the Dominion Alliance had a few days ago stated what its programme and platform are, and recommended them for the adoption of those who are enrolled in its ranks, I have thought I would not lose the chance of speaking to my first audience after that time, and saying a few words to them upon

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION.

(Loud applause.) But I have to talk upon other topics, and that compels me to compress my remarks. There is no time to enlarge upon reasons or arguments. I must almost confine myself to stating facts and conclusions. This is not very satisfactory to me; perhaps will not be so to you. It may seem dogmatic; it may tend to some misconceptions; but it is inevitable under the circumstances. Why is it that I had desired to discuss this subject unconnected altogether with any discussion at that time of party political topics? It is in the interest of the cause itself on which I am about now to touch. This is

NOT AT THIS TIME A PARTY QUESTION.

How do the political parties of Canada stand upon it? The Liberal party embraces, I have no doubt, the majority of the Temperance Reformers and Prohibitionists, and for that I refer you not merely to the strong and active temperance Reformers throughout the land, but to the Parliamentary record of the Liberal representatives at Ottawa. (Cheers.) I shall not go over the votes; I suppose they are familiar to you all. But although that is the position of the Liberal party in that regard, it still includes many

sober, virtuous, temperate, Christian men who have not yet seen it their duty to become total abstainers themselves or to support laws to force either themselves or their neighbours to abstain. The Tory party embraces the majority of the anti-temperance workers and anti-prohibitionists, and it embraces the great bulk of the liquor interest. (Applause.) For that I refer you to what you know in your own locality, and also once again to the parliamentary record. I

REFER YOU TO THE RECORD OF THE VOTES

in Parliament in both branches of the Legislature. In the House of Commons, springing from the people, trace the votes of the Conservatives and those of the Reformers; and in the Senate, where you see the result of eight years of Tory rule with reference to a body in which they have had the opportunity of making some sixty or seventy appointments, if I am rightly informed, and have made it a most decidedly and emphatically anti-temperance and anti-prohibitionist assembly. That has been their own work; it is their own child, their offspring, and it speaks for itself. (Great applause.) Now, amongst the Ministry itself—those who lead the Tory party of to-day—you find one of the greatest of the brewers of Canada, and one of the greatest of the spirit sellers of Canada, and some very liberal consumers of the commodities which are made and dispensed by their colleagues. (Loud laughter and applause.) And so it is with the rank and file. But that party contains a certain number—a considerable number, though a minority—of the strong temperance men and prohibitionists as well. Now, the Conservative Government, through the various Ministers, from the First Minister down, down, down to Mr. Foster—(loud laughter)—has declared that this is not and

CANNOT BE MADE A PARTY QUESTION.

That is their attitude, and I admit that it seems absolutely impossible for them. I believe it would be the greatest example—the most gigantic example—of organized hypocrisy this world has ever seen or known. (Applause.) So much for that. Now, with reference to the Liberal party. Would it be possible for us to make it a party question at this time? I believe not. (Applause.) And this for several reasons, some affecting the cause and some affecting the party, and affecting the party in the sense in which we may honestly and properly declare that we desire to consider the interests of the party, regarding the party not as an end but as a means, as a great instrument for effecting the public good and promoting good government through the land; as an instrument whose efficiency and capacity for these great objects we are bound

to preserve, and if possible to advance. Now, first of all, it would drive out of our ranks many good and sober men who, as I have said, do not yet see eye to eye with others of us on this particular question. I hope that time

MAY SOON INDUCE A CHANGE OF VIEW

with many of them. I believe our present attitude favours such a change, and I am quite sure that expulsion would not tend to produce such a change at all, but the reverse. Then it would not bring to our ranks the honest temperance Tories. They believe in Sir John Macdonald, Mr. John Carling, and Mr. Frank Smith. They believe in the general policy of the Government. They are opposed to us on all the general questions of the day. If honest men they cannot sacrifice their convictions on all these questions, and, therefore, they cannot co-operate with us upon them. If dishonest men, we don't want them. (Loud and prolonged applause.) Then again, it would render impossible the conduct of the business of the country under the system of party organization, without providing any substitute for that system whatever. Then as to the cause. I conscientiously believe it would not advance the cause; on the contrary, in my belief it would retard it. (Applause.) The cause would be weaker now and would be weaker later, and by introducing the bitterness and nearly equal divisions of party into this special controversy, the chance of passing and afterwards of maintaining a law, which more than any other law I know of requires a very general assent, would be indefinitely postponed. But anyway, whatever may be desirable, it is not now a party question. It is a question

ON WHICH REFORMERS AGREE TO DIFFER,

on which each one acts on his own judgment. I speak for myself and for myself alone. I express the view of no other man.

I DECLINE POSITIVELY

from my notions of public duty to assist in any way at this time to make this a party question. *I have endeavoured, and shall continue to endeavour, to win every man, Reformer or Tory, to my temperance opinions by argument and by example.* But I shall neither drive away from my side of general politics Reformers who do not think with me on temperance and prohibition questions, nor shall I refuse on temperance and prohibition questions to co-operate with Tories who oppose me on general politics. (Cheers.) I will act with all, I will do my best for the promotion

of my views, ostracising no man because he differs from me on this question, and refusing no man's help because he differs from me on all the others. (Cheers.)

NOW FOR MY INDIVIDUAL VIEWS.

Always strictly temperate, thirteen years ago I came to see the evils to Canada of the drinking habit so strongly that I felt it my duty to do all I could to end that habit. And I thought *the first step was to become a total abstainer myself*, and I did so. (Loud cheers.) I claim no merit at all for that act. It happened to be a very trifling sacrifice to me. Since that time, by precept and example, by voice and by vote, I have always supported what I thought to be the true interests of temperance. (Cheers.) I have long believed that the greatest boon to the people of Canada would be that we should become a nation of total abstainers. (Renewed applause.) To achieve that result I would gladly, even were I as anxious to retain as I am to quit the position I occupy, surrender it to-morrow. But now as to the means. I believe the main factor must be the formation of an enlightened, a very widely diffused, and a very strong public opinion, under which many more of our good men, our sober, virtuous, and God-fearing citizens, not now total abstainers, shall be made to see so clearly the evils of drink to the community, and their personal duty in the matter, that they shall, in the general interest, become themselves total abstainers, and having so become, shall endeavour to persuade others to follow their example and thus very largely reinforce the ranks of the voluntary abstainers. In this respect great progress has been made—I recognize it thankfully—but much more remains to be done, and if we slacken in this work and hope to save trouble to ourselves by other and wholesale and involuntary methods, we shall make the greatest mistake conceivable. (Applause.) I think no repressive legislation can be profitable or permanent unless there exists a widely-diffused and very strongly-felt and

VERY EARNEST PUBLIC OPINION

at its back. The tone and quality of this opinion are of as much or more consequence than its quantity. It is not from fear of the criminal law that the bulk of the community abstains from crime. The bulk would abstain if there were no criminal law. The conscience of the community would be its law. Laws generally derive their binding effect from this consideration. But for that, even though directed against a few only, they would be of little use. This view has very special application to legislation upon the subject of the general social customs of the people. It follows, then,

that it is only this widely-diffused and strongly-felt public opinion which can be properly crystallized into law, and that premature attempts will be abortive failures. Thus conditions of opinion may exist at various epochs of progress under which, usefully, licenses may be required to sell, under which high license may replace low license, under which restricted license may replace freer license, under which local and partial prohibition may replace high and restricted license, and under which general prohibition may replace local and partial prohibition. But in deciding on the legislation to be at any particular time adopted, we must determine whether the country is at that time

RIPE FOR THE LEGISLATION ;

whether it is reasonable to conclude that it will be enforced and maintained, else we hurt instead of helping the cause. Now, as to legislative and executive action, I am against the emasculation of the Temperance Act, which I believe to be in contemplation at this hour. (Cheers.) I am for the amendment of that Act in those details in which experience has shown defects, preventing a fair test of its principles. I believe it is the duty of the Government of the day, finding this law upon the Statute Book, to determine whether it shall be repealed or made effective; I believe that if they do not choose to repeal it they are bound to make it effective, and if they neglect dealing with the case they neglect their plain and obvious duty. (Loud cheers.) I am for

A FAIR AND FULL TRIAL OF THE ACT

in the localities in which it is in force, with all the aid that executive action can properly afford. And here I may point out that the case Mr. Mowat states with reference to the Dominion functions is much stronger than he put it, because, if I rightly understand it, the Temperance Act itself contains a clause providing that the Collector of Inland Revenue, a Dominion officer, may bring prosecutions, and that it shall be the duty of the Collector of Inland Revenue to act on informations and bring these prosecutions. (Loud applause.) I am for putting down with a stern hand the dynamite and other outrages, and the terrorism which has disgraced some places in this connection. (Great cheering.) I am for or against the submission of the Act in new localities, according as there is or is not a fair prospect in the condition of local opinion that it will be reasonably efficacious. (Applause.) It is on this consideration that I myself would vote in case it were submitted in a county in which I had a vote. I am against the submission of the Act as a mere test of public opinion, by a vote

in the nature of a plebiscite on prohibition, without a firm determination to work it thoroughly if passed. I consider the

TEMPERANCE ACT ITSELF IS ON ITS TRIAL.

I have been anxiously watching its operation in that view, as also to use it as one test, whether there yet exists in Canada such a tone and quality of public opinion as would render further legislation efficacious and permanent. This I regard as a much better test than the mere vote at the polls. I cannot say I think the test as yet justifies the proposed legislation. I am glad to say that in many places the Scott Act is working fairly, while in some cases the results are hardly known, and in some the results are not favourable. But I notice that large numbers of our citizens, good, sober, virtuous, and exemplary, are as yet unconvinced as to the duty of total abstinence themselves, and therefore unfit to enforce it upon others. I find many supporters of temperance legislation who do not look upon drinking, even in Scott Act counties, as a crime, and who refuse that moral support, and help to the enforcement of that law which they give to the general criminal law.

JUST COMPARE THINGS.

Suppose one of us is walking along the street behind a neighbour, a friend, or a stranger, and see his pocket being picked. He makes himself a special police constable at once, tries to prevent the crime, and, if he is big enough, arrests the criminal. But supposing, in a Scott Act county, we pass an unlicensed house—for they are all unlicensed, no licenses being granted—and see some one going in and getting drink, we turn to the other side; we say nothing about that; we do not propose to enforce the law; we do not give the same support, the same sympathy, the same active investigation in the case of this law as is given in the other case. Now if that be the condition of the more advanced localities, what is the condition in the other parts of Canada? I have no sympathy whatever with the abuse sometimes poured out on those honest men, who, not themselves in any sense slaves to drink, are not yet convinced of the duty of total abstinence. There are amongst these many better men than some of those who abuse them. (Cheers.)

INTEMPERANCE IN DRINK IS NOT THE ONLY VICE,

and there are things much worse at any rate than moderate drinking. Unfortunate as I believe the habit, there are many better men than myself who honestly differ from me, who have not seen what I think the light in this matter, and their eyes will not be en-

lightened or their ears be opened by abuse; they will be only closed and darkened. I am ready to try and persuade, but I am not ready to abuse them. Let us endeavour in all loving kindness to win them to our views. This is our most important and most pressing work. Until progress is made in that, I am not of the opinion that Canada is ripe for prohibition. (Cheers.) *I do not believe that the law, if carried, would, in the present condition, be useful or permanent.* I remember very well the speech made by Sir Leonard Tilley, that veteran champion of temperance—made not very long before he retired from Parliament—in which he declared as the result of his long experience, his experience in his own Province, confirmed by all that he had learned elsewhere—an opinion which pointed out the absolute necessity, in order that there might be an efficacious and permanent law, for that

STRONG AND WIDELY-DIFFUSED PUBLIC OPINION

to which I refer, and I observe that even the *Mail* newspaper, in the article in which it declared its new confession of faith—(cheers and laughter)—when, with all the fervour of the neophyte, with all the zeal of the convert, you might have expected it would out-Herod Herod, or, as people sometimes say, meaning the same thing, been more Catholic than the Pope—declared itself in these words:—“So vast and momentous a change is not to be accomplished in a hurry. Public opinion has to be moulded and hardened, and more than a majority of the people brought to the conviction that drink is a direct outrage and irredeemable curse which ought to be outlawed from among men. This is a formidable task.” Therefore I cannot honestly vote for prohibition now. I can give no pledge for such a vote at any definite time. Should the time arrive when I think the law would be useful and permanent instead of hurtful, I will vote for it, whatever the political results to myself. Until that time comes

I SHALL VOTE AGAINST IT,

whatever those results may be. (Loud cheers). Let me point out to you here that there is a large constitutional question involved in prohibition; there is the question of the reform of the Senate, for just so long as you maintain the Senate as at present constituted and composed, just so long there is an absolute and inseparable barrier to your obtaining prohibitory legislation. (Loud applause.) There are also two financial questions which, though subordinate, are each important enough to refer to, First is the question of revenue. I think the prosperity resultant from the disuse of intoxicating liquors would in time restore very largely the loss from the duties. But there would be a temporary and serious disturbance to be faced, and the present condition of enormous expen-

ditures, high taxation, and large deficits is unfavourable to immediate action. Next, I think that there are certain permanent interests existing under the protection of the law, in respect of which justice demands that compensation, on a limited principle should accompany their legislative extinction. But I think this demand ought not to prevent the passing of the law, if the general good requires it. In that case the law should be passed and the compensation provided. I dare say the views I have now expressed will not please the extremists of either party. I cannot help it. It is my duty to give my fellow-countrymen my honest advice and take the consequences. That advice I have given and those consequences I am prepared to face. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

(11)

LEGISLATION FOR LABOUR.

Sir John Macdonald's Pretensions Discussed.

LIBERALS AND THE TARIFF.

RELATIONS OF LABOUR AND CAPITAL.

Remedies and Non-Remedies.

Total Abstinence Cures many Evils.

Mr. Chairman, friends and fellow-citizens, I have been asked to address you to-night, not upon certain political questions of the day, which have been specially engaging the attention of the public at large during the last few months, but upon topics particularly affecting

THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASSES

of Canada—(applause)—a subject not lending itself readily to passion, to rhetoric, or declamation, not so easily enlivened as some topics may be in discussion, but yet a subject which

MUST BE PROFOUNDLY INTERESTING

to every man who has a brain to think, or a heart to feel. (Renewed applause.) We would be unworthy of our place in the world, if we did not feel the deepest concern in the condition of the masses—the toiling masses; and the inquiry what that condition is, what their troubles are, what remedy may be found, what improvement may be effected, ought to enlist our best energies in the search for its solution. Now, I had intended to discuss to-night a large portion of the speech lately delivered by the First Minister especially directed to workingmen, in which he engaged in a retrospective commentary upon transactions of some years back, with the desire and intent of painting in very brilliant colours the record of the Conservative party, and in correspondingly dark colours, the record of the Liberal party. He raised the question of the printers' arrest of 1872, and his legislation in that connection; he discussed the subjects of Chinese labour, of contract

labour in penitentiaries, and of savings bank deposits. But he omitted some other topics of the past, such as

THE ATTEMPTED FACTORY LEGISLATION,

(applause) which would also be, in some respects, interesting. Upon all these questions, I believe a complete answer is to be given to the speech to which I refer, but there are upon the platform to-night several speakers whom you are anxious to hear. I cannot encroach upon their time; and therefore I defer for the moment dealing with these questions of the past; but I undertake to dispose of them at an early day. I will simply say, with regard to one of them, that it was an extraordinary omission on the part of the First Minister that, engaged as he was in a historical retrospect, he forgot altogether to mention that the

CRIMINAL OFFENCES ACT

which he professed to have made right in 1872, was not made right until 1876, when I had the honour and satisfaction of introducing legislation, in advance of the laws then enacted in England, *which eliminated the features of class legislation in Sir John Macdonald's Act; which removed the prohibition he had retained against the workmen watching places of business for certain purposes connected with their combinations; which gave to those charged with offences under the law the inestimable privilege of a trial by jury, instead of before magistrates, as under his law; and which, most important of all, abrogated the application to this class of transactions of the odious law of conspiracy, through which things lawful for one workingman to do had been construed, under the law as he left it, to be criminal when done in concert by two or more.* (Applause.) He forgot also to refer to the fact that in the following year, when I was still Minister of Justice, I induced Parliament to amend the laws which

MADE AN ODISIOUS DISTINCTION

between different breaches of contract, which made all breaches of contract of service criminal, while all other breaches of contract were merely civil offences, and to incorporate in the legislation still deemed necessary on the subject the just principle of equal dealing with all classes of the community in like cases offending, instead of the old and arbitrary plan of making one law for the workingman and another for the rest of the world. (Loud applause.) He likewise omitted from that retrospective history the fact that in 1882, *contrary to my protest*, Parliament under his guidance established the proposition that a Stipendiary Magis-

trate, without a jury, should have power to try, and to condemn, and to inflict a penalty of five years in the penitentiary upon those charged with the apparently trivial offences dealt with by the Seamen's Act. And he equally forgot to allude to the circumstance that,

CONTRARY TO THE PROTEST OF THE REFORM PARTY,

notwithstanding his professed anxiety to advance the interests of labour, he had established a sort of penal disqualification, a money obstacle to candidatures for Parliament by requiring a deposit of \$200 as a condition of nomination for the honourable position of a representative of the people. (Cheers.) Now, on all these subjects I have spoken in 1882, and I intend to speak soon again. But I could not approach this attempted retrospect without this brief reference to the salient features of Liberal action and legislation in the interests of labour, legislation which I believe to be the most important recorded in our statute book. (Loud and prolonged applause.) The First Minister claimed great credit for having improved the condition of affairs, particularly as affecting the workingmen, by the tariff. Now, the tariff was enacted in 1879, and in 1882 he appealed to the people. And his appeal was based upon the need to obtain a renewed lease of power, which he assured the people would, if obtained, render

THE TARIFF ABSOLUTELY PERMANENT

and beyond all danger of attack. He obtained that lease. He has enjoyed and used it. But another election approaches. Those who are well informed on the Conservative side say, whatever they may think, that it is not so very near. Those who have some sources of information on the Liberal side believe it to be much nearer. At any rate it approaches. As the election approaches you find, notwithstanding the pledge of 1882 as to the results of a fresh lease of power, the cry is raised again, "The tariff is in danger! To save the tariff you must once again return the Conservatives to office."

If it be so that it is necessary to give the Conservative party a third lease of power in order to save the tariff, all I can say is that this is an acknowledgment that the principal pledge made by the Government at the last election has not been fulfilled, and that

THEY HAVE FAILED TO ACCOMPLISH

the promise on which they were returned. (Great applause.) I desire to refer very briefly to the

ATTITUDE OF THE LIBERAL PARTY UPON THE QUESTION OF THE TARIFF.

It has been grossly misrepresented. In 1882 I stated my views upon that subject in the most formal manner, by means of the address I issued to the electors of West Durham as a manifesto to the country; by the principles then laid down I still abide. I said:—

You know well that I do not approve of needless restrictions on our liberty of exchanging what we have for what we want, and do not see that any substantial application of the restrictive principle has been or can be, made in favour of the great interests of the mechanic, the labourer, the farmer, the lumberman, the ship-builder or the fisherman. But you know also that I have fully recognized the fact that we are obliged to raise yearly a great sum made greater by the obligations imposed on us by this Government; and that we must continue to provide this yearly sum mainly by import duties, laid to a great extent on goods similar to those which can be manufactured here; and that it results as a necessary incident of our settled fiscal system that there must be a large, and, as I believe, in the view of moderate protectionists, an ample advantage to the home manufacturer.

Our adversaries wish to present to you an issue as between the present tariff and absolute free trade.

That is not the true issue.

Free trade is, as I have repeatedly explained, for us impossible; and the issue is whether the present tariff is perfect, or defective and unjust.

I believe it to be, in some important respects, defective and unjust.

We expressed our views last session in four motions, which declare that articles of such prime necessity as fuel and breadstuffs should be free; that the sugar duties should be so adjusted as to relieve the consumer from some of the enormous extra price he is now liable to pay to a few refiners; that the exorbitant and unequal duties on the lower grades of cottons and woollens should be so changed as to make them fairer to the masses, who now pay on the cheapest goods taxes about twice as great in proportion as those which the rich pay on the finest goods; and that the duties on such materials as iron, which is in universal use, should be reduced, so as to enable the home manufacturer, to whom it is a raw material, to produce a cheaper article for the benefit of his home consumer, and the encouragement of his foreign trade.

I believe that by changes of the character I have indicated monopoly and extravagant prices would be checked, a greater measure of fair play and justice to all classes would be secured, and the burden of taxation would be better adjusted to the capacity of the people who are to pay. Depend upon it, a day will come when by sharp and bitter experience we shall learn the truth; and many who even now applaud will then condemn these particular incidents of the tariff.

My reference there to the fiscal and financial limitations of our condition has increased force to-day, for since that time enormous sums have been added to the public debt; enormous sums have been added to the annual charge; and notwithstanding the great taxation,

A LARGER DEFICIT THAN WE HAVE EVER KNOWN

since Confederation has signalized the last financial year. *Therefore the execution even of those measures of readjustment which I suggested in that address, and which we had proposed in Parliament in the preceding session, would be found much more difficult to-day by reason of the changed condition of affairs.* We have no longer a large surplus to dispose of—we have a large deficit and a greatly increased scale of expenditure to meet. And it is clearer than ever that a very high scale of taxation must be retained, AND THAT MANUFACTURERS HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR. I then declared that any readjustment should be effected with due regard to the legitimate interests of all concerned. In that phrase, “all concerned,” I hope no one will object to my including, as I do, the general public. (Cheers.) In any readjustment I maintain that we should look especially to such reduction of expenditure as may allow of a reduction of taxation, to the lightening of sectional taxes, to the lightening of taxes upon the prime necessities of life, and upon the raw materials of manufacture, to a more equitable arrangement of the taxes which now

BEAR UNFAIRLY UPON THE POOR

as compared with the rich, to a taxation of luxuries just so high as will not thwart our object by greatly checking consumption, to the curbing of monopolies of production in cases where, by combination or otherwise, the tariff allows an undue and exorbitant profit to be exacted from consumers, and to the effort—a most important point—to promote reciprocal trade with our neighbours to the south. (Great applause.) That is a modest programme, you may say, but I believe it to be an extensive programme, representing the full measure practicable of attainment, and which can be fulfilled only by much expenditure of time and thought, after full investigation, careful inquiry, and ample consideration of details and of the bearing of each proposal, with the advantage of all those materials for forming a judgment on details, which are available only to men in office. (Cheers.) As to

THE CONDITION OF THE OPERATIVE,

Sir John Macdonald's declaration in his recent speech was that, owing to his tariff policy, there is now employment for everybody, and that the Dominion is at this moment one of the most prosperous, if not the most prosperous country on the face of the globe. That condition I would be glad to admit, if I believed it. I regret to be obliged to dispute it. But I dispute the alleged cause as well, and I

maintain that *tariffs cannot permanently raise wages*. (Loud applause.) I want you to compare together the conditions in old countries, similarly circumstanced, each with dense populations, with accumulated capital, with great inequalities of life. Compare together England, without a tariff, and the continental countries of Europe, which are highly tariffed, and I maintain that it is beyond the possibility of dispute that the English operative has shorter hours, greater security for life, limb, and health, higher wages, cheaper supplies, and a condition, on the whole, greatly superior to that enjoyed by the operatives in any of the highly tariffed countries of the continent of Europe. (Loud and prolonged applause.) Is it the tariff regulations that have made the difference? If so, then they work the wrong way, according to the devotees of tariffs. (Renewed applause.) As to the United States, some of the most eminent statesmen of that country have declared that the longer hours, the severer toil, the greater intelligence of the operative, and the higher prices of some of his supplies, equalize his nominal reward with that of England. It is certain that these considerations go very far to do so; and the difference, whatever it may be, is diminishing year by year.

TO WHAT IS THAT DIFFERENCE DUE?

It is due, not to the tariff, but to differences of condition as between new and sparsely settled countries, with vast expanses of vacant fertile soil open to settlement, and old densely populated countries in which there is no such mainspring of prosperity. But I will describe those conditions and their results, not in my own words, but in the authentic language of the Canadian Government Guide Book to immigrants for the present year, 1886. The Government says:—

High wages are incident to the rapid development of wealth in a new country of immense extent, and they will probably for a long time continue to be high; at the same time it must be borne in mind that a new community may be, owing to the attractions of higher wages, subject to a glut, as has, in fact, happened, that is, there is, of course, a limit to which any particular branch of industry might, at a given time, call for workmen. But there is practically no limit to the masses of men which the Canadian North-West can absorb, the territory being about as large as the whole of Europe, with

ILLIMITABLE RESOURCES TO DEVELOP.

The rate of wages paid in such conditions has naturally relation to what may be earned by a man who takes up 160 acres of immigrant lands, for the plain reason that if a man is sure to make as much from the ready resource which is always open to him—of taking up land—he will not work for wages at a very great disadvantage. (Cheers.)

There is the statement of the Government itself, showing the condition of things in a new country with an illimitable extent of free and fertile lands, as compared with the condition in the British Isles. Now, mark the reasoning. They do not tell the English, Irish, or Scotch workingman that it is the Canadian tariff that makes Canadian wages high, for they know he would not believe it. They know that he knows better, whatever they may think the Canadian operative

CAN BE GULLED INTO BELIEVING,

and they tell the Islander the truth. (Cheers.) They give the true reason, and I ask you to mark that reason—not only as destructive of those other reasons which they reserve for the Canadian elector, but also because it gives to the operatives of the city of Toronto a direct and intimate pecuniary connection with, and interest in the prosperity of the North-West. *North-West misgovernment, a check to North-West progress, anything which may prevent the best results accruing to the settler on its free and fertile lands will, you perceive, have a directly disadvantageous effect upon the value of labour all over the country.* (Loud cheers.) How does the matter work in its other aspects? As things are at present the manufacturer takes all he can get out of the consumer, and gives as much as he must, or as he thinks right, to the operative. If more be demanded he looks elsewhere for help. *There is no tariff against the import of labour.* (Loud and prolonged cheering.) If the employer will not pay the rate of wages in the United States,

THE MECHANIC GOES OVER THERE ;

and under the circumstances of both countries the rate of wages in the United States regulates the rate in Canada. Sir Leonard Tilley stated this in terms a little while ago in the House of Commons, using this language :—

The prices paid for labour in the United States must regulate the price of labour in Canada, because if the wages are not about equal the operatives will soon pass over the line.

Now, I have said there is no tariff on labour ; there is no protection to labour. But that is not all.

THERE IS A PREMIUM AGAINST LABOUR.

There is, out of the taxes paid by labour, an enormous expenditure upon immigration. On this vital point, in his discussion of the interests of the working classes, Sir John Macdonald, by an ex-

traordinary lapse of memory, forgot to speak. (Loud applause and laughter.) We Liberals have pointed out for years that in Old Canada, only farmers should really be encouraged to come. As to domestic servants, the conditions of service must be modified, the relations of the race practically recognized, and

GREATER MUTUAL INTEREST AND RESPECT

shown between employer and employed ; else our people shun the condition of domestic service. (Applause.) And the importation of servants helps not so much, after all ; for many of them in a short time go across the lines. As to agricultural labour, the improvements in agricultural machinery, specially the invention of the self-binder, have largely checked the harvest demand, fortunately for the agriculturist, because the low rates he receives for his produce render it very important to him to save the cost of harvest labour ; and fortunately, also, for all, because, while there existed an enormous temporary demand for the short period of harvest, it followed that the over-plus, after the harvest was over, drifted into the towns and embarrassed and degraded the general condition of the labour market throughout the country. (Cheers.) Now, this immigration expenditure is

A SINK OF JOBBERY

—cheers—but so far as it is effective for its designed purpose, so far as the money is not thrown away or

HANDED OVER TO PARTY NEWSPAPERS

at fourteen prices for printing—(renewed cheers)—it tends to degrade labour. In the result Canadians are displaced by the immigrant, or the immigrant reaches the United States *via* Canada. I do not say that this is true in all cases, but it is true in too many cases, and the figures of population, from whatever source we draw them, sufficiently establish it. The Government system has worked in practice, whatever they may say as to their intentions and instructions, so as to bring in not merely agricultural, but also general labour. (Loud cheers.) That is quite certain from what we know of those who come in under assisted passages. The Government denies most strenuously that it ever encourages or assists any other than the domestic servant or the agricultural labourer ; but I turn again to the Government Guide Book for 1886, and I find that in speaking of the Province of Ontario

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT IS GIVEN

as to the resources of the Province and the demand for labour:—

But as well as wanting men to clear its forests and cultivate its soil, it requires men to build its houses, to make furniture and household goods, and to open up communication from one part of the country to another by the construction of roads and railways.

It is further to be stated, in this connection, that Ontario is rapidly becoming a manufacturing country. The leading industries are: Works for making all kinds of agricultural implements in iron and wood, waggons, carriages, railroad rolling stock (including locomotives), cotton factories, woollen factories, tanneries, furniture factories, flax works, ordinary iron and hardware works, paper factories, soap works, woodenware, etc. The bountiful water supply in Ontario is used in these manufactures, as is also steam, for motive power.

There is a very great demand for female labour for domestic service, both in towns and country; also for work in some of the factories; also a demand for dressmakers and seamstresses, all of whom obtain good wages in Ontario.

So much as to the encouragement of general and operative labour. Now, with reference to the vexed

QUESTION OF ASSISTED PASSAGES,

I find in this same Guide Book for 1886 this statement:—

It may be here particularly pointed out, however, that the most favourable rates of assisted passages are offered to female domestic servants and families of agricultural labourers. ASSISTED PASSAGES ARE, HOWEVER, AFFORDED TO OTHER LABOURERS.

(Cheers.) So that I find the direct statement in the Government Guide Book, to the people whom they are seeking to induce to come to Canada, that assisted passages are offered to others than the agricultural labourer and the domestic servant. (Loud applause.) My belief is that we should confine ourselves to circulating the facts of the true condition of the older Provinces, and their attractions to the farmer; that

WE SHOULD ABOLISH THE ASSISTED PASSAGES;

that we should abolish the jobbery—(great cheering)—that we should cut down vastly the whole expenditure; and that we should leave the rest of the work to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which we were told would relieve us of this business when the contract was let; and we would thus follow, though still more active than they, the methods adopted in the United States with reference to immigration. So much with reference to the important subject of Government expenditure on immigration, upon which Sir John Macdonald unfortunately forgot to touch. Now, recurring to

THE TARIFF IN ANOTHER ASPECT,

I maintain that it has produced disaster to several important industries, and great consequent injury to the cause of labour. Unduly high protection, while the demand exceeded the supply, gave inordinately high profits, for example, in cotton, in sugar, and in certain descriptions of woollen goods. The public were heavily charged, and a few individuals were greatly enriched. (Applause.) Others wished to share the golden stream. Capital was sunk; mechanics were brought in from abroad; they were brought away from other occupations at home. Production was increased; and then came quickly, in our country of limited demand, the following stages: those of glut, of lower prices, of short hours, of lower wages, of closed factories and discharged hands, of general distress, and of demoralization of trade. Regularity of employment—which is the most important thing for the comfort of those who depend upon their daily work—was for the time destroyed. (Applause.) Now there is some revival, and I observe the First Minister has given his cause for that revival in his speech. He says:—

There was only one thing to be dreaded in introducing that policy, namely, that it might lead to over-production, and in consequence there would be great depression and insolvency. This was the case with regard to the cotton industry. The cotton manufacturers were so successful in their factories that in all parts of Canada the people rushed into the manufacture of cotton, the consequence being that more of the article was produced than was consumed. A REMEDY FOR THAT HAS BEEN FOUND, HOWEVER, IN THE BUILDING OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

(Loud cheers and laughter.) No! Not so! The remedy they have found has been in combination, in an

AGREEMENT AMONG THE MANUFACTURERS

to advance prices, and perhaps to limit production, and *so we are all called upon by a rapid rise, nay, by several rapid rises, of prices, to contribute to pay dividends on millions of capital needlessly expended in order to create a power of production in excess of the consuming power of the country.* It is clear now that home competition in this and in other cases cannot be depended on to keep down prices; and the only safeguard, both for the manufacturers themselves, who have witnessed in these instances the disastrous results of high protection, and for the general public, who, in the early stage of inadequate supply, and again in the present stage of iron-clad combination, are called upon to submit to the full burden imposed by the tariff, is to take care that the tariff is

NOT SO INORDINATELY HIGH

that the monopolist, whether he is such by virtue of there being no other manufacturer, or by virtue of a combination, shall have it in his power to take too much out of the general public. (Loud applause.) A great deal we must allow him to take, but the rates (as I have pointed out on former occasions), which this tariff in some industries allows to be taken, are altogether excessive and inordinate. But, it is said that the prices of commodities have been comparatively low of late years, and that this is due to the tariff. The prices are low all over the world. (Loud applause.) The progress of invention, the progress of production, the progress of facilities for transportation, the increased area of cultivation are, to the great gain of humanity, yearly reducing the cost of the articles which are in daily use; and it is

NO JUST COMPARISON AT ALL

to contrast our prices of to-day with our prices of a few years ago. (Loud applause.) If you want to know whether prices are low or high in Canada, your only test is to compare them with the prices of the day in the free or the lowest markets of the world, and then you will see really whether they are comparatively high or comparatively low. Now, make this comparison, and you find prices in several classes comparatively high, and that we are losing in many commodities much of the general gain to humanity by the general progress of the world. (Applause.) Take, for example, sugar. They boast of the low price of sugar. *Sugar is low here compared with its price here a few years ago, but it is inordinately high here compared with the price in England in the present year.* The price of the raw material has fallen enormously. We do not get anything approaching the full benefit of that reduction. We pay infinitely more than they do in England, or in bond at New York. A large part of the excess is paid into the treasury, I frankly admit. A larger sum than I like to see levied on sugar. But a very large part of the excess over the foreign prices, a part approximating on the consumption of the year to \$2,000,000 beyond what goes into the treasury, is paid by the people of Canada in effect to assist the refiners to carry on their business. (Loud and prolonged applause.) Now, I pause here, I cannot further this evening discuss this phase of the tariff. I call your attention for a moment to another point, that of the

DIRECT BURDEN OF THE TAXATION.

There has been an enormous increase. I shall not give you figures to-night; there is no time. The rate has increased from forty to

fifty per cent. The volume of the taxes received has increased from fifty to sixty per cent., and the amount paid by the people into the treasury is estimated at about \$30 per head of every white family. That is the amount paid into the treasury, but the consumer, and especially the mechanic, who buys from the retailer in very small quantities, pays a very large advance over the amount paid into the treasury. The advance which the wholesale merchant charges the retailer, and the further advance which the retailer charges the consumer, are both, of course, as a rule made upon the duty as well as upon the other elements of the cost, and forty to fifty per cent. advance upon the duty, will represent the real burden upon the consumer. The cost, therefore, to the consumer must be from \$42 to \$45 per head of a family on the average. We in this Province believe, and I think rightly, that we

PAY MORE THAN THE AVERAGE.

I could wish that the taxes were levied just for once, not in greater quantity, but in a different way. *I could wish that they were for once levied directly; for if they were paid by you to a collector calling upon you, instead of being included in the cost of the goods you buy, you would apprehend the burden, you would scrutinize more earnestly than you do the items of the public expenditure which are the justification for the tax; you would realize how that taxation presses on the industries of the people.* The very interesting paper prepared by Mr. Blue, of the Ontario Bureau of Statistics, showed the condition of workingmen for last year as well as the averages of his correspondents' returns could indicate it. They were, however, averages of superior men, men who kept accounts of their household expenses, and these are men who do better than the general average, and therefore the general average would be

MUCH LESS FAVOURABLE

than these results. Yet the paper shows that, assuming the average family of the picked mechanic at $4\frac{1}{2}$, which is the number these figures seem to indicate, food cost \$216.42; fuel, \$40.53; rent, \$72.41; clothing, \$86.39; or a total of \$417.75, and the average earnings of the worker and his family are \$447.60, *leaving, for all the rest of his expenses, the sum of \$29.85*—for the doctor, for schooling, for books, for church, for charities, for pleasure, for all the amenities and some of the necessities of life, this paltry pittance of less than thirty dollars, without anything for reserve, without anything for a rainy day, without anything for the inevitable period when youth and skill and health depart, to be re-

placed by weakness, infirmity, and old age. (Loud cheers.) This is the average condition

EVEN AMONG PICKED MEN

—miserable. And many among these had no surplus, and some were even deficient. I was told last year, when I discussed this subject in the light of the figures of that day, that I ignored the fact that the wages make the scale and that the scale eats up the wages. I did not ignore the fact. I recognize the fact, and I deplore the fact. (Loud applause.) *I say it is a fact of which we ought to be ashamed and a fact which we ought to endeavour to make a fact no longer at the earliest possible moment.* (Renewed applause.)

THE CONDITION OF THINGS IS WRONG,

if the wages are to make the actual, and that a low scale of living, and the scale is to eat up the whole of the wage. I AGREE WITH MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, WHEN HE SAID, A YEAR OR SO AGO, THAT OUR NATURAL RIGHT IS NOT ONLY TO EXISTENCE, BUT TO THE FAIR ENJOYMENT OF IT. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) And the present state affords no such enjoyment, and no adequate provision for old age, sickness, or infirmity. I protest against the view that all is well. (Loud cheers.) All is not well. But see in the light of what I have just now told you, *how important a thing is the abstraction from these scanty earnings*, and this still more scanty margin, *of even \$40 for federal taxation*, or of even \$20, half that amount. (Hear, hear.) Some tax we must pay, but the tax which we were promised should not be increased has been enormously increased, has been recklessly increased, has been wantonly increased; has been, in the first instance, needlessly increased, and if now required, is required only because the Government was determined to spend up to the limit to which you allowed yourselves to be taxed; and, therefore, for the increase, and for the abstraction of what you might otherwise have added to this too scanty margin, I charge the Government of the day. But, apart from the question of the burden of taxation as cast upon as all,

I OBJECT TO THE CHARACTER

and the distribution of the taxation. Things are even worse than I have just described them. *Not only is the burden great, but the distribution of that burden is unjust.* One general system of taxation, I maintain, as I have long maintained, is unjust as between the richer and the poorer classes of the community. (Loud applause.) TAXATION GENERALLY SHOULD BEAR MORE

HEAVILY THAN IT DOES UPON CAPITAL, AND MORE LIGHTLY UPON LABOUR, MORE HEAVILY ON THE RICH, AND MORE LIGHTLY ON THE POOR. (Renewed applause.) Realized, fixed, and permanent capital from its nature can afford to contribute, and ought to contribute, more than fluctuating, temporary, and wearing out labour; and the rich man,

WITH A SURPLUS INCOME OF THOUSANDS,

should contribute more proportionately out of that income than the poor man out of that poverty which leaves him no more than a bare subsistence. It does not pinch the rich; it does not pinch capital; the rich man and capitalist, if you call upon him for somewhat heavier taxation, may have to see his yearly increase somewhat diminished; he may—though that is an extreme case—even have to give up an extra horse, or an extra ball, or an extra month at the seaside; but these are consequences not very serious. Life, even without those things, is very well worth living. But what to the rich man is nothing becomes a very serious question to the poor man. When you increase his taxes he has to consider which of those few things he has deemed up to that time necessities of life he shall deem a necessary of life no longer. Therefore, if we were attempting to lay direct taxes in Ontario, I should

STRONGLY FAVOR A SUCCESSION TAX,

under which realized capital upon its descent should pay a toll to the State, thus yielding at the period most convenient for all, some portion of the unearned increment. (Loud applause.) Therefore again, if we were attempting to lay an income tax here, *I should advocate a graduated tax* upon just such a scale as we might be able to fix without creating, what is the serious difficulty, too great temptation for the fraudulent evasion of that easily evaded tax. And, therefore, I maintain the justice of the exemption from our municipal income tax of the smaller incomes, and would gladly see the limit raised, so that the reasonable earnings of wage-earners should remain untouched. (Cheers.) On these general grounds it is that I think in the Dominion system of indirect taxation—a system which I cannot propose to change—the taxation should

BEAR MORE HEAVILY ON LUXURIES

as a means of remedying, if only partially, the existing injustice. You may call all this Socialism. I don't call it so; I call it nothing but justice and fair play. (Loud and prolonged applause.) Now the present system works just the other way. The system of specific duties upon goods of different values, weights and qualities

results in this—that the poor man is obliged to pay more, in proportion to the value of the cheap and coarse and heavy goods to which he must confine his purchases, than the rich man is called upon to pay for the fine and costly goods which he can afford to purchase. So that, instead of there being a proportion, there is a disproportion; and

THAT DISPROPORTION IS IN FAVOUR OF THE RICH AND AGAINST THE POOR.

This proposition as to the effect of specific duties was stated by Sir Leonard Tilley when he was Finance Minister, on the occasion of a visit to England, though it is repudiated a good deal in Canada. I have often demonstrated it by examples which I have no time to give to-night.

There is ANOTHER INJUSTICE in the distribution of the taxes, namely, the imposition of sectional taxes and of high taxes on prime necessities of life, as fuel and bread; and of raw materials of manufacture, as fuel again. (Cheers.) There is yet ANOTHER INJUSTICE in the raising of some taxes so high that it unduly fosters those monopolies in manufacture which, by combination or otherwise, are thus enabled to extract too great sums from the people. On the whole I cannot agree with those who say this tariff is perfect. I think I have indicated points in which it is seriously defective, and in which it ought to be amended. (Applause.) I alluded a moment ago to

MONOPOLIES FOSTERED BY TARIFFS.

There are other descriptions of monopolies which affect the masses of the community and the wages of labour—monopolies of transport, monopolies of land, and creations of fictitious capital and watered stock, clothed with great powers, enabling them to press upon the public and to lower largely, by the contributions they levy, the value of labour. Most railways are, to some extent, monopolies in respect of the non-competitive local points; nor, even where there is another railway, can you be sure how long there will be competition. As most of you are aware by experience, both of older and of recent date, combination is too likely to follow competition; and the effort then is to obtain enough from the public to compensate for the new capital invested or created. But it was reserved to Canada, just at the time when the question of the regulation of transport was becoming acute on this continent, just when it was plain to the great statesmen on the other side of the lines, and was even becoming clear to the people of England, that this question of the regulation of transport was a

most serious problem of the near future—it was reserved, I say, to Canada at this time to

CREATE THE GREATEST MONOPOLY

of all, and in all its features; transportation, public grants, land and privileges, absolute monopoly, and fictitious capital. (Loud applause.) Take the case of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. My quarrel is with the policy of the Government, which I denounce, and not with the Company, which obtained what it could from the Government. My quarrel with the Government is serious.

The corporation was created at the cost of the State, which is giving in connection with the whole scheme the equivalent of \$87,000,000 in cash, besides land and public resources, out of which other resources about \$11,000,000 have been realized already, and of which there are about 14,000,000 acres left to sell.

Besides this, there were free right of way and grounds, exemption from taxation, monopoly and numerous privileges of enormous value.

There was enough to build the road at a reasonable pace.

Then the Government authorized a loan of \$35,000,000, on which the traffic has to pay the interest.

Then the Government authorized the issue of \$65,000,000 of stock, now in the hands of the promoters and the public. But it was on the

WRETCHED STOCK-WATERING PLAN.

The Company received but \$29,500,000 for the \$65,000,000.

But this is not the worst. The Government authorized such arrangements as resulted in the retention out of the Company's resources, within a brief space, of about \$21,000,000 to pay and secure dividends.

So it has come to pass that of \$65,000,000 nominal stock there has gone into and remained in the road only \$8,500,000, about \$1 out of \$8!

A modest dividend of 6 per cent. on the nominal capital would absorb \$3,900,000 a year, or 46 per cent. on what is in the road.

So that for all time labour is to be

TAXED TO PAY DIVIDENDS

on this enormous block of nominal capital.

Necessarily North-West rates must in future be higher, and the prosperity of Canada at large be less, and the return of labour be diminished by this policy.

These great grants and privileges of themselves tended to monopoly, for how could private capital compete with them?

But all this was not enough.

The Government established an actual positive monopoly, by the prohibition for 20 years of roads running southward—a thing wholly unprecedented, and as indefensible as it was new.

Now, we proposed that Parliament should reserve the right to acquire the road on reasonable terms should the interest of the State in the future demand it, but in vain.

We proposed that the avenues of trade to the East and South should not be barred, but in vain.

We proposed that the clause of exemption from taxation, which reads thus:—

The Canadian Pacific Railway and all stations, station grounds, workshops, building yards and other property, rolling stock and appurtenances . . . and the capital stock of the Company shall be free for ever from taxation by the Dominion or by any Province hereafter to be established, or by any municipal corporation therein ; and the lands of the Company in the North-West Territory, until they are either sold or occupied, shall also be free from taxation for 20 years after the grant thereof from the Crown.

should be modified, but in vain.

We called attention to the fact that 25,000,000 acres of choice land were to be granted,

UNACCOMPANIED BY ANY CONDITION

that the agricultural lands should be open to actual settlers in suitable areas, and at fixed maximum prices, and we proposed a change in this sense, but this proposal also was rejected. Since that time the evil effects of the creation of large interests in lands without such conditions have been further evidenced. But notwithstanding when, in 1885, large further free grants were proposed in aid of railways in the North-West, and I moved that the agricultural lands should be opened to actual settlers in reasonable areas on conditions of settlement and at fixed maximum prices, my proposal was again rejected, and the evil results are now apparent. Again, when large grants were made of coal, agricultural and ranching lands to aid the construction of a coal railway, I pointed out that

UNLESS WE MADE SPECIAL PROVISION

as to the admission of other mines to the benefits of the road and took special powers as to tolls, a practical monopoly would result and evil would ensue. I proposed an amendment. I was told it was all nonsense, that there could be no difficulty. And I find only the other day an extract from the *Regina Leader*, a Conservative paper, in these terms:—

Sir Alexander Galt must be a greedy man. Here has he got a fine mine from the people of Canada, and he makes a portion of his benefactors along the line of railway, poor farmers—or tries to do this—pays \$3.50 per ton for coal which he is selling in Winnipeg for \$6.50. And why? Because we have not the competition here.

And what does the *Leader* advise?

We hope our people will adopt, as far as possible, Mr. Arkles' excellent suggestion to use timber.

(Loud laughter and applause.) There is the remedy proposed against a practical monopoly which was created unchecked, in spite of the efforts of the Liberal party. (Cheers.) Now in all these matters, whether they concerned the enormous grants to the C. P. Railway, or the creation of practical and actual monopolies, or the creation of great blocks of fictitious stock, or the tremendous exemptions from taxation, or the grants of land without conditions opening them to settlement—in all these matters I maintain that the Liberal party has been labouring for the people and against the monopolist, for the settler and against the speculator, for the masses and against the few; and I am convinced that the policy we advocated would have given you a more flourishing and better settled West, and a happy and more prosperous East than now obtains. (Loud cheers.) So much I have said with reference to the past and the present. And now I turn to what Sir John Macdonald had to say to the workingmen.

ON THE EVE OF AN ELECTION,

with reference to the future. I was not surprised when I looked at that portion of his speech and scrutinized its contents, that he had wasted so much time upon the sterile past. (Applause.) It was because he had so little to say for the future. What did he promise? A bureau of labour and statistics in the first place, and a royal commission of inquiry in the second place. As to the bureau of labour and statistics, that is a good thing. It should have been created long ago. (Applause.) We have had a bureau of statistics established in and for this Province, which has initiated the operations, and has been, and is doing, very good work. (Loud applause.) I suppose it is to be largely duplicated. I trust its operations are to be extended; and I do hope that the appointment made in connection with this Bureau will be of a man suitable for the position, for upon the appointment depends almost the whole practical value of the department. (Cheers.) I spoke my mind, and that of the Liberal party, as to the importance of the

COLLECTION OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION

and the duty of the Government to attend to this matter a long time ago. In 1877, when I was a member of Mr. Mackenzie's Government, I said:—

I may say generally that it is unfortunate that Canada should be so imperfectly supplied with machinery for the collection of statistics on many other subjects of interest. My colleagues, in common with myself, are fully alive to that fact, and it is only the question of expense, which, in the present condition of the country, deters us from proposing the creation of that statistical machinery which every free community must feel to be material to intelligent, sound, and progressive legislation.

Therefore you will observe that we pointed in this direction nine years ago. Since that time—at all events since the year 1880—we have had an overflowing treasury, and, it is said, a flourishing condition of affairs; the income was there, at any rate, though created by an enormous taxation. And during all that time, no talk, no thought, no proposal of a bureau!

A DEFICIT COMES, AN ELECTION APPROACHES, AND STRAIGHTWAY
THE BUREAU DAWNS UPON THE HORIZON.

(Cheers and laughter.) Then the other great proposal is of a Royal Commission. In 1873, Sir John Macdonald issued a Royal Commission, in order to obtain the whitewashing of political criminals from a great offence. And in 1886 he proposes to issue another Royal Commission, in order that he may lead the great political jury to which he is about to appeal to give a more favourable verdict than he might otherwise expect. (Laughter and cheers.) I do not object, for my part, to the issue of a Royal Commission. The problems which are referred to in this proposal have attracted the attention of the acutest minds and been the subject of most able disquisitions. The results are to be found in printed books, and if I may judge by the men named and

THE RESULTS ACHIEVED BY FORMER COMMISSIONS

appointed by this Government in the professed interests of the working classes, if I am to judge by the work and results of the commissions issued to Mr. Blackeby and Mr. Lukes, I should not have very high hopes myself from the result of this Royal Commission. (Laughter and applause.) I agree that it is important to ascertain whether there be anything in our special conditions different from those of other countries in relation to these great problems, but I am inclined to doubt that either Mr. Blackeby or Mr. Lukes or anybody else who may be appointed, will find on

the general question much more than is to be found in the works showing the researches of the ablest labour reformers in the world. I was sorry, however, to observe that Sir John Macdonald, after promising a commission of inquiry, had no words of hope, no expressions of his own views, no suggestions of sympathy with the objects which are being aimed at by the working classes. (Applause.) *Now amongst the important practical improvements which I should wish to see would be that amongst our members of Parliament there should be some who from experience know, and from familiar intercourse, can realize what most of us have only learned from books and at second-hand.* (Cheers.) They would be useful in the halls of Parliament, both from their special and practical knowledge, which would enable them to take an important part in the deliberations of Parliament, and also because their presence in Parliament would give special assurance to the working classes of the presentation of their views in the best light and from their own standpoint. (Renewed cheering.) I hope to see a genuine Liberal of this stamp,

I CARE NOT WHAT HIS PARTY NAME MAY BE,

so that he be a genuine Liberal advocating our views, sent to Parliament from Toronto at an early day. (Loud and prolonged applause.) I do not wish to make odious comparisons, but I do not think it would take very long to convince you that you might better your representation—(cheers and laughter)—and that you could find in the ranks of labour many a man who would put to the blush—if any blushes they have left—a good many more pretentious members of Parliament. (Hear, hear, and great applause.) I cannot say for myself that I expect to see all the plans of labour reformers early, or some of them ever, incorporated in the statute book; but there is much in these proposals with which I have long sympathized. I rejoice greatly to observe *the wise and conservative spirit in which, on many occasions, the most prominent figure in the ranks of labour has spoken*, and used his great influence over his fellow-men. (Cheers.) He has recognized the evils incident to the strike and the boycott. He has counselled prudence, moderation, self-restraint, and conciliation along with firmness. He has advised the wise and restrained use of the power of combination, which, if abused, may be so hurtful, and if wisely used has been and must be so helpful to the cause of labour. On the whole he is a man of whom, I think, not merely the class to which he belongs, but the whole English-speaking community, may well be proud. (Great applause.) Now a word I have to say as to the

RELATIONS OF LABOUR AND CAPITAL,

which is one of the things referred to as to be enquired into by this commission. I am sorry there was no expression of opinion from the First Minister on that point. I, for my part, do not object, on the contrary, I heartily approve of the accumulation which is the result of honest toil and superior energy and brain power. (Applause.) The power to rise is a great incentive to industry, frugality, and the orderly advance of humanity. It keeps us at work. But it should not be impaired by artificial advantages given to the few, and to capital; by watered stocks and unjust profits; by toll and tribute levied under law for the benefit of the unreal and fictitious capital; by speculative holdings of the public domain; by too burdensome a load of taxation, and by unjustly distributed taxation. I want to see this power to rise left and kept as unimpaired as possible. The problem of the division between capital and labour of the fruits of their co-operation is a most serious one. That division has

NOT BEEN JUST IN THE PAST

—(cheers)—and conflicts of a grievous character have arisen in the effort to readjust it. Combinations between employers, combinations between workmen, strikes by the workmen, lock-outs by the employers—a state of affairs resembling nothing but civil war!

CAN SOME REMEDY BE FOUND FOR ALL THIS?

Surely we must try! It is the question of the day. (Great applause.) Now, I frankly confess to you that I believe the complete remedy is largely out of the pale of law. I believe it is largely to be found in the growth and in the exemplification in our daily lives of the Gospel precepts—"Love thy neighbour as thyself," and "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." (Applause.) *If we believe these precepts to be realities, we must live them; and if they influenced our lives we should see fewer instances of manufacturers grinding the faces of employees, and of the general consuming public grinding the face of the merchant and distributor of production. A fair living rate would be deemed right; and to give or take more or less would be deemed wrong.* (Cheers.) We are, I hope, rising—too slowly and gradually, considering that this is the nineteenth century of the Christian era—to this view; and that circumstance must help us greatly in the adoption of the other practical, lawful, and conventional remedies which are suggested. *There is the remedy of industrial partnership and the remedy of*

co-operation. (Applause.) These are two distinct plans, each having its own advantages and its own difficulties. I believe myself in the future of both, but I believe that each requires for its proper fulfilment a more elevated moral tone and a greater mutual confidence on the part of those concerned. Both have been tried very often, tried in various countries, tried with varying success; but tried with a great measure of success in several instances; and that fact proves the possibility of success in many more instances, if only the question be approached by both sides in the proper spirit. Industrial partnership is the natural first step, because at present you have capital and you have labour joined together, though in an unhappy sort of union, and this seems to be the suggestion for a fitter union between the two. If time allowed I would desire to give you

SOME SIGNAL INSTANCES

of the success of each of these plans. The great point to be reached is the creation of a practical and felt community of interest, the recognition of the right of labour to a share in the fruits produced by the joint action of labour and capital; and the adoption of means to gain that right. These plans must grow, and in them ultimately, I believe, will the conventional remedy be found. I would like to see them tried well and prudently here; and I would invite for them, if they should be tried, the active sympathy and co-operation of the consuming public towards establishments founded upon these principles, the success of which here would tend to the best interests of the world at large. (Applause.) But meantime the conflict goes on; and the immediate palliative for the avoidance of this kind of civil war to which I have referred is

ARBITRATION.

In that I have great faith. (Loud applause.) It involves partial recognition of the rights of labour. It tends to substitute reason and conciliation for force and violence. It has done great good and will do more. Yet its root is to be found, I believe, in its moral strength. We may be able by law to facilitate arbitration; we may even provide boards of arbitration; but we cannot, in most cases, hope to compel reference to arbitration, or obedience to an award. The real good will often vanish in such an effort, and the work must, therefore, be mainly voluntary. The strength of combination, the pressure of public opinion, the power of mutual good-will, and the energy of the forces which are making for righteousness, must be the main dependence for securing the submission to arbitration and the ratification of its results. I have

done. There is much more to be said upon these questions, but time fails me. Yet I cannot part from this subject of the condition and prospects of workingmen without saying that there is

ONE THING WE HAVE IN OUR OWN POWER,

and by which we can most sensibly ameliorate our condition, and that is by the surrender of the drinking habit. (Tremendous applause, renewed again and again) *I believe that no greater boon can be dispensed to the working man, his wife, and family, than that which he can give himself by becoming a total abstainer—* (renewed applause)—*and I tell you frankly that I should hope as much from the direct and indirect influences of temperance as from any other human agency, or from all combined, without it.* It would help all. And now I close. I have not sought to excite false hopes, or create glowing anticipations; nor have I endeavoured to unduly darken the picture. I have tried to speak the words of truth and soberness. I have told you what I believe to be in fact and in truth the condition of things as it exists, to what we have to look, and for what we have to hope. I pray you to think calmly over what I have said, and I ask that you may be guided to a sound judgment, and may act and vote according to the strength of the argument, and the justice of the cause. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

KNIGHTS OF LABOUR.

Canada a Country of Labour—Protecting the Workers— Necessity for Factory Legislation.

Mr. Blake said at Welland, in response to addresses from the Liberal Association, the Knights of Labour, and the Young Men's Liberal Clubs:—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, allow me before asking your attention to some other topics of public interest to return my thanks to the various organizations for these addresses. I receive with gratitude the assurance from the Reform Association of the County of Welland of the full confidence which they are pleased to repose in me. Here, as elsewhere, I must tell you that I cannot accept as deserved by me the flattering expressions of kindly confidence which have been showered upon

me in so many parts of the country. I am too conscious of my shortcomings as a public man to be able to receive them as deserved. I realize that your kindness has taken the will for the deed; that you believe I have endeavoured, as far as the poor measure of my strength and power allowed, to do my duty towards you in the station in which I have been placed; that you are willing to overlook my shortcomings, and to look rather upon my honest effort to do good according to my lights. And I can assure you that these expressions of confidence and affection will nerve me to endeavour in the future to be more deserving of the kindly feeling you entertain towards me than I can claim to be to-day. And now to you, sir, who read the address of Welland Assembly of the Knights of Labour, and to that Assembly, I have to express my thanks for the language of the address. I fully recognize the honourable and

DIGNIFIED POSITION OF HONEST LABOUR.

(Cheers.) I see that you have assumed a knightly title. In that respect I am rather in an unfortunate position. I was obliged from my view of public duty nearly ten years ago respectfully to decline the offer, altogether beyond my poor deserts, of the honourable rank of Knight Commander of the most distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George—(Great applause)—and I understand that by the regulations of your body I am precluded as a lawyer—though, alas, a practising lawyer no longer—from the hope of ever attaining the much more to be coveted honour of being a Knight of Labour. (Laughter and cheers.) So between these two stools I have come to the ground—(laughter)—and I suppose I must content myself with being what, after all, I have ever desired to remain, plain Edward Blake to the end of the chapter. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) I fully recognize the truth of what has been said as to the importance to the state of the condition of the toiling masses. If there be a country in the world in which the importance of labour must be fully recognized it is this country. Because, happily, most happily for us,

WE ARE A COUNTRY OF LABOUR.

(Applause.) There are but an insignificant few amongst us who do not earn their bread by their daily toil. We are also fortunate in this respect that capital and labour in our country are to a great extent in the same hands, for we have a large agricultural community, still, though not to the extent it once was, not to the extent I could wish it to continue, made up of freehold proprietors of the farms on which they live, the capitalist and the labourer being in these cases happily the same. Nor are those among us

who labour altogether debarred from the hope of bettering their condition and becoming capitalists, though, as I have pointed out elsewhere, *the conditions are not what they ought to be*. I will add that in my investigations of my own country and my inquiries respecting others, *I have ever looked with the utmost anxiety to the condition of those who stood in the ranks of skilled and unskilled labour*, satisfied that if these were in a reasonably prosperous condition, if these enjoyed reasonable hours, fair pay, decent subsistence, a moderate enjoyment of existence, an opportunity to rise, a chance to lay by something for a rainy day and for the time of old age, sickness, and infirmity—satisfied, I say, that, if this was, as it ought to be, the condition of the labouring classes, the condition of those who were still better off could not call for very strong sympathy or compassion. (Applause.) Now, I do not enter at large to-day into the general question of labour legislation, and my relation to that question, because I have lately spoken on most of its aspects, having indeed left untouched one important topic only, upon which I shall say a few words. I refer to the subject of

FACTORY LEGISLATION.

(Applause.) In Sir John Macdonald's Ottawa speech, his manifesto to the labouring classes, he made, as I have pointed out elsewhere, a great many extraordinary lapses; and amongst his omissions was this—that he forgot to say anything at all about Dominion factory legislation. (Applause and laughter. There was a great flourish of trumpets in the session of 1883, and another in the session of 1884, with reference to the good intentions of the Government on this subject, and these good intentions were exemplified by the introduction in each of these sessions of a bill. But

THOSE BILLS HAVE BEEN DROPPED.

We have heard no more of them. (Applause.) They never were pressed, and the Government has now even ceased to adorn the Speech from the Throne with any suggestion of Dominion factory legislation. (Renewed applause.) Presumably this is because they found out they were wrong in this attempt to legislate at all. (Hear, hear.) That is the only explanation I can suggest to you; because if they think still they have the power to legislate, having declared it was expedient to exercise that power, having gone so far as even to introduce bills in '83 and '84, they must stand self-condemned for not having legislated in the succeeding sessions of '85 and '86. (Loud cheers.) I therefore assume that they have now found out that they had not the power to do what they professed to be able to do—what they promised they would do. If

so, it only furnishes another instance of the abortive efforts at centralization, the efforts to arrogate to themselves powers which did not belong to them, which have distinguished this Administration, and another instance of a constitutional lawyer mistaken—(cheers)—of a position abandoned, a promise unkept, a pledge unredeemed, and a people fooled and betrayed. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Now, these bills, when they came before us, I analyzed, as was my duty, with care, and I found them far inferior in their character to what my wishes would have made. I found them inferior with reference to the powers of inspection, and the classes of factories to be inspected, and the provisions for health and safety which they prescribed; and also inferior in another most important respect—in reference to the restrictions and regulations as to the

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN

and young persons. (Loud applause.) I prepared, in anticipation of the discussion, numerous amendments—between thirty and forty, I believe—intended to bring the bill more into accord with modern notions on these questions, but the bill was dropped without a word, and there was no opportunity to move these amendments. I would direct the attention, not merely of mechanics, but also of the general community, to the question of the employment of children and very young persons in factories. I have a very strong belief that children ought largely to be kept out of factories. (Loud applause.) I do not propose indiscriminately to abolish all child labour in factories; but I think

THE EMPLOYMENT SHOULD BE GUARDED AND CHECKED;

and, when allowed, I believe children ought only to be admitted as half-timers, that is, allowed to work for half a day only with special provision for school attendance during the remaining hours, so that we may take care first that their physical strength and growth is not hurt by the prolonged confinement and labour of the factory, and secondly that their mental growth and development is duly fostered in the schools. (Applause.) The same observation, at any rate, as to the physical structure, and to some extent as to the mental development, applies to the employment in factories of very young persons, though past the age of childhood, especially of young women. The future of our race may be injured, and the state of labour in important respects degraded, by the too frequent, too prolonged, too sedulous employment of children and young persons in factories. (Hear, hear.) I heard with pain a statement made in the House of Commons, not very long ago. A member was pointing to the school attendance in Nova

Scotia, and arguing from its relative smallness that the population was not increasing as it should. The answer of a member on the Conservative side was, "Don't you understand how that small attendance comes about? The children haven't time to go to school now; they are employed in the factories." If that were so it was not a thing on which to congratulate the people of Canada. (Loud cheers.) As this address says, it is

TO THE EDUCATION OF THE MASSES WE MUST LOOK FOR PROGRESS ;

and a system which impedes the education of the children, in order to employ them in factories, is not a thing which I, as a Canadian, can desire or approve. (Loud applause.) For a great many years Old England led the van in this subject of factory legislation. For more than eighty years they have been engaged in such legislation, from time to time altering, amending, and enlarging their laws, as experience pointed out the way, and they have done great things, no doubt, for the operative, for the child, and for the young person employed in the factory; but I am bound to say also that in late years England itself has been left rather in the back ground in some respects, and that in some of the continental countries, with reference to the employment of children, the education of children, and with reference, also, to the technical education of mechanics, advances have taken place which more than parallel the advances of England. I maintain that in any factory legislation we may devise here, we ought to look to that country which may stand in the forefront on this question, to follow the example of that land, whichever it may be, that has the best laws on the subject, and to legislate according to that clearer light, and by the assistance of that more advanced experience, rather than in a comparatively retrograde or halting manner. (Loud applause.) I turn to one other point before I pass from this address. I observe that Mr. White, at Owen Sound the other day, yielded once more to the fatal pressure of those political exigencies—(loud applause and laughter)—which have so often caused him to succumb before, and invented a policy for me, arguing that I had, as a policy for the Dominion, suggested a succession tax and a graduated income tax. Pray remember that this was

ONLY MR. WHITE ;

and give it just that amount of attention to which his avowed standard of political morality in such matters entitles it. I expressly said that I could not propose a change in our indirect system of taxation for the Dominion. My suggestion was in terms confined to the Province of Ontario, where, if taxation is ever required, it must be direct. And even for Ontario, I suggested it

only in case we were about to lay direct taxes. If we were about, in this Province, to lay a direct tax, I thought and think a succession tax the best. If we were about, in this Province, to lay an income tax, I thought and think a graduated tax just; and, as to our municipal income tax, I thought and think an extension of the existing exemption ought to be made. But as to the Dominion

I MADE NO SUGGESTION OF DIRECT TAXATION.

I declared that I could not propose a change in the system of indirect taxation. I have no idea of any such change. But I did propose certain changes in the details of our indirect system, for example in some specific duties, in the taxes on prime necessities, and so on, with a view to a more equitable distribution of the burdens as between rich and poor, as you will see in my speech, a speech no honest or candid disputant could read without agreeing in this interpretation. My misfortune is that these are not honest or candid disputants. (Applause.) I am ready, as I have shown by my past public course, to favour all fair and just measures towards the improvement of the condition of the working masses of the community, believing that upon that improvement largely depend the elevation and prosperity of all. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

FAIR LAWS FOR LABOUR.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD'S MEMORY PLAYS HIM FALSE.

LIBERAL LEGISLATION IN FAVOUR OF LABOUR.

OBJECTIONS BY TORIES—CONTRACT PRISON LABOUR—THE CHINESE ENCOURAGEMENT POLICY.

Hon. EDWARD BLAKE, in the course of his speech at Belleville, said:—I wish to say a few words on some points of Sir John Macdonald's Ottawa speech to the working classes; I spoke on some of the questions lately in Toronto. Of those which remain most refer to the past, and some in fact to the rather remote past,

and I confess to you that in the present pressure of urgent political topics, which ought to engross our attention, it is unwillingly that I take time to deal with these remote questions. I am bound to do so, however, because I believe the statements made should not go unanswered, and because I believe them to be very inaccurate indeed, and far from just representations of the actual facts. Sir John began by a very ancient reference—which has stood him in good stead for many long years—to the incidents connected with the printers' trouble in 1872; and on

THIS OLD STORY

he based one of his main arguments in support of his claim to the confidence and support of the workingmen. Sir John Macdonald said:—

They were, however, in 1872, horrified to find the then leader of the Liberal party in Canada putting in force in Toronto the obsolete and oppressive laws which ought to have been repealed a century ago. All would remember the general feeling of horror and disgust that prevailed when it was announced that 24 men had been arrested by warrant in Toronto because, forsooth, they had ventured to form a trade association, and had resolved to carry the principles of their Union into effect. At a meeting of employers, the then leader of the Grit party, the editor of the *Globe*, urged the masters to have no dealings whatever with Union men, and to hire none but those who would sign a document to the effect that they did not belong to any labour organization, and he trusted that in this way those who had shown a rebellious spirit against their employers would be

DRIVEN OUT OF THE COUNTRY.

At that time he (Sir John) happened to be Minister of Justice and Attorney-General, and in his capacity of Minister of Justice he advised the representative of the Sovereign, to at once release those printers and allow them to walk out once more as free men. (Cheers.) More than that, he at once introduced a bill into Parliament repealing those obsolete statutes, wiping them off the statute book as a disgrace to our present state of civilization, and introduced and carried through Parliament a law establishing Trades Unions and confirming them in their previous proceedings, and under that Act, which is now almost without any modification, the Trades Unions of Canada can assemble and act together in concert, and protect and advance their own interests against any combination of employers of labour, in case capital should become an oppressor of labouring men.

I am very sorry that it has unfortunately happened that Sir John's memory has repeatedly played him false in the course of this statement. In the first place, Mr. Brown, to whom he referred, was not then the leader of the Liberal party. He had not been its leader for many years. He had been out of Parliament for five years, and was not seeking re-election. He was a private member of the party, engaged in managing his great newspaper. Mr. Mackenzie, who can boast that he graduated from the stone-

mason's chisel to the position of Prime Minister of Canada—(Cheers)—was then the leader of the Liberal party. But it suited Sir John Macdonald's purpose for the moment to strike at the Liberal party through Mr. Brown by describing him as occupying a position which he did not occupy, and his memory helped his end. Sir John Macdonald altogether forgot, extraordinary to say, that at that date all but one, or, at the most two, of the printing offices in Toronto agreed conditionally to employ no Union men and, so far, acted with Mr. Brown. I have here the published declaration and agreement, from which I will read the signatures:—

Geo. Brown, *Globe* Printing Co.
J. Ross Robertson, *Daily Telegraph*.
James Moylan, *Canadian Freeman*.
J. B. Cook, *Express*.
E. R. Stimson, *Church Herald*.
S. Rose, *Christian Guardian*.
W. H. Flint, *Pure Gold*.
Patrick Boyle, *Irish Canadian*.
Copp, Clark & Co.

Dudley & Burns.
McLeish & Co.
Bell & Co.
Hunter, Rose & Co.
Rowell & Hutchinson.
P. H. Stewart.
George C. Patterson.
M. J. Grand.

So this was not so far the resistance of one single man. It may have been wrong, but all these persons—men on both sides of politics—agreed to one course, and all must submit to one judgment. Sir John Macdonald also forgot—and this is still more singular—the action of the *Mail* newspaper at the very late date of 1884, not so long ago as 1872, when our notions were less fair and enlightened than in 1884. In 1884

THE "MAIL" PREPARED A DOCUMENT

which it required every one of those who were within the scope of its power to sign, declaring that he did not belong and would not belong to any union organization, a document which remained in force for a considerable time, but has lately, I am glad to believe, been modified. (Applause.) He forgot, too, the action of his own colleague, Mr. Frank Smith, only a few months ago, in this very year, 1886, when he required the employes of the corporation, of which he is president, controller and principal proprietor, the Toronto Street Railway Company, to agree not to belong to any union; and his subsequent conduct, when he called them in a very public place by a very opprobrious name. (Cheers.) He forgot all these things of course, for if he had remembered them he would have been silent, and would not have been ungenerous enough to bring up the error in judgment and action which in my judgment Mr. Brown, now six years dead, committed so long ago as 1872; because it is clear, from the case to which I refer, and from the whole facts, that this error cannot serve the Conservative

as against the Liberal party. (Loud applause.) I say it was an error. I think so now; I thought so then; and I declined at the time to take any part in the proceedings against the printers.

BUT LET US DO JUSTICE BETWEEN HIM WHO IS DEAD AND HIS
ACCUSER, WHO STILL LIVES.

(Loud applause.) Mr. Brown used and enforced the laws of his country as he found them. Sir John Macdonald condemns him for it, because, as he says, those laws were obsolete, oppressive, and a disgrace to civilization, and should have been repealed a century before. I hold guiltier the Minister who was responsible for the law continuing upon the statute book unrepealed and unamended, than the private citizen, who, finding it there, thought fit to use it. It was there to use. The accuser is himself responsible for the law being there at that time. (Cheers.) It is he who is the author of the "oppression" and "disgrace;" it was his neglect that allowed it. (Renewed cheers.) If he had done his duty the law would not have been there to be used by any man. For twenty or thirty years before, Sir John Macdonald had occupied almost continuously a place of power and responsibility. He was always in a leading position; for a large part of the time he was actually leader of the Government; and for a still larger part of the time he was Attorney-General or Minister of Justice, specially responsible for the criminal law of the country. (Loud cheers.) During all that time he left the law ready to be used by any one; and now he comes, six years after Mr. Brown is in his grave, and holds him up to the opprobrium and execration of his fellow-countrymen because he said:—Here is the law of the land; it is made to be used; and I will use it. Thus you see Sir John Macdonald claims credit for action when he ought to apologize for inaction. He asks for praise when he deserves blame. (Cheers.) Again he says he relieved the printers, and advised the Governor-General to release them and allow them to walk forth free men. That is, I believe, all a mistake. It is another lapse of memory. The printers were not, so far as I can find, confined in gaol at all. They were bailed; and they were bailed to appear for trial for their alleged offence. Sir John could not have freed them, therefore, had he tried, and I feel quite sure he didn't. (Laughter and applause.) I believe they were not freed by the Governor-General at all; I believed they were not freed on Sir John's advice at all. I believe it is all a trick of the memory. (Applause.) He legislated on this subject, he said; but he forgot to say that his law specially excluded all pending cases, and left these printers just where they were before, and this by the express words of the statute—(cheers)—so he did nothing that I can find, either by

executive or by legislative action, to relieve them. (Cheers and laughter.) He forgot also that his much-lauded amending law was so grossly defective, so inadequate to the occasion and the needs of the day, that I had to set it right in several important particulars in 1876.

HE STATES ALSO THAT HE THEN LEGISLATED SATISFACTORILY ON THE SUBJECT OF TRADES UNIONS.

I differ from this view. His law contained a provision for registration, which is opposed to the interests of the unions. (Cheers.) I come now to the action of the Liberal party. When these bills, of which Sir John Macdonald speaks, were brought before the House, only one member rose to oppose the legislation. That was Mr. Masson, since a member of Sir John Macdonald's Administration, and at the present moment Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. But I do not hold the Conservative party responsible for this action of one of its members. The leader of the Liberal party, however, rose to support it. He said, in answer to Mr. Masson's objection, that "he saw nothing in the bill that could do harm, though he thought the clause requiring mechanics to register their trades unions was rather harsh and restrictive towards workingmen. He did not see what objection there was to the bill." So, you see, the leader of the Liberal party supported the legislation, but with Mr. Mackenzie's practical knowledge of these matters

HE WAS ABLE TO HIT THE BLOT,

to point out the objection to the registration clause which has injured the operation of the law. (Cheers.) In 1876 and 1877 I dealt, as Minister of Justice, with this class of subjects, including breaches of contract of service; and if I were to adopt Sir John's method of discussion, and impute to the Conservative party whatever some individual member may have said, I might point out that when I was repealing the laws making breaches of contracts of service criminal offences, I was opposed, for example, by Mr. Pope, who had been a Minister in the Conservative Government, who was recognized as one of the leaders of that party, and who is a member of the present Government, who thought it was a dreadful thing that he should not continue to have the power to put in gaol his farm labourers in case they broke their contracts of service. In the same sense I might refer to the attitude of Mr. Hillyard Cameron, and of Sir John Macdonald himself, during the debate on my bill for the amendment of the criminal law as to violence, threats, and molestation.

Let me read from the report :—

Hon. Mr. Cameron (Cardwell) said it was suggested that something further ought to be in the bill which was not in the English law—that was, with reference to threats of accusing of crime. There were two or three classes of crime which would naturally suggest themselves to his hon. friend, where the accusation would be as great an serious an intimidation as any threat of personal violence or injury to property. He suggested the bill should be changed to bring such offences within its scope. Sir John Macdonald called attention to a threat of this kind : “ You must continue work in this place, or I will do you mischief.” The injury was not described, but it was intimidation ; it probably did not mean violence to person or property.

Hon. Mr. Blake—It must be one or the other.

Sir John Macdonald said a threat might be made to injure the reputation, which was not property—there might be charges which did not amount to personal violence or injury to property, but still would affect a man's character. He suggested that his hon. friend take this into consideration.

Hon. Mr. Blake said of course he would give the suggestions of his friends due consideration, but he thought that, as practical legislators, it was better for them to provide punishment for the offences named by law than attempt to conjure up different kinds of possible threats which were unknown in this country. Probably many of the cases to which reference had been made by his hon. friends would be met by the existing law. By legislating for that class of crimes the objection might be raised by a large number in the community to its being class legislation, and they ought to be careful in dealing with such matters. He would remind his hon. friends, while not interposing objections to their views, that agreeing thereto would be making a new law, the utility of which had not been demonstrated by experience or required by public necessity.

Then at the final stage :—

Hon. Mr. Blake said he had decided not to adopt the suggestions of his hon. friends from Kingston and Cardwell with respect to this clause. He entirely agreed with them as to the importance of preserving to the minority of any trade or occupation its liberties against an improper assertion of the so-called rights of the union or majority, and he would always be ready while he sat in this House to sustain any legislation that time might determine to be necessary for that purpose ; but this House might be averse to enact special legislation, unless for a real and admitted evil. As far as he knew, there was no reason to apprehend that this clause would be inadequate.

That is the attitude these gentlemen took with regard to the legislation I was seeking to carry in favour of equal rights to all classes of the community, and for the abolition of that which it has always been the aim of Liberals to abolish—class legislation. (Loud applause.) Then Sir John Macdonald declared that he was opposed to contract

LABOUR IN PENITENTIARIES,

and took credit for its abolition. But he has forgotten again. He, I need not tell you, is the man who, for the longest period we know of, has been responsible for contract labour in the penitentiaries. He was Attorney-General or Minister of Justice, and

had control of the penitentiaries for ever so many years, and during that time he controlled the legislation and the contracts; he arranged for the contracts under which the convicts were employed, and he never began to cry out against the system so long as he was in power. But as soon as he got into Opposition he began to cry out. (Laughter.) When he came back to power we called upon him to carry out the abrogation of the system, and almost every year this call was repeated, but nothing was done. (Applause.) At length, only a little while ago, a new Penitentiaries Bill was brought down. It was introduced in the Senate by his Minister of Justice, passed in that House, and came down to the House of Commons. There was not a word in it about abolishing contract labour. (Cheers.) I recalled once more the professions they had made, and intimated my intention of taking action in the matter. Sir John Macdonald thereupon asked that the bill stand over, and when it was resumed, just at the last stage, he introduced the clause of which he now boasts. That clause is due, not to his goodwill or initiative, but to my pressure. (Cheers.) He now says that the amendment was delayed because there were existing contracts. It is not so; his memory has played him false again. That amendment actually saves all existing contracts—(cheers)—it is expressly declared not to come into operation until those contracts terminate. I cannot speak positively, but I am strongly of opinion that these contracts were terminable at the will of the Government long before. Now, my opinion is that prisoners ought not to be under the control of contractors, but under the control of the prison authorities. Prison discipline, the prisoners' good, and the good of the community call, I think, for that course. My opinion with reference to the work done in prisons is that it ought to be such as will train the prisoners to earn an honest living when released, but at the same time such as will interfere as little as possible with free labour. (Applause.) There is no useful work to which you can put prisoners but will interfere somewhat with free labour. When in control of this department I tried to carry out what seemed to me

THE MOST ADVANTAGEOUS PLAN,

and in this view I purchased from Sir John Macdonald himself a farm in the immediate neighbourhood of the penitentiary, in which, according to my plan, spade husbandry was to be carried on, an industry in which as many hands as possible should be employed, with as little assistance from machines as possible. We had too many idle hands. I wanted to do by hand the work ordinarily done by machinery. I thought this employment would give the

prisoners health and exercise, and would interfere as little as possible with free labour. (Cheers.) I am afraid the system since carried out has not been fully in accordance with my intentions; and since that time the Government has taken a vote for the erection of a flour mill in Kingston Penitentiary, so that they might interfere as little as possible with the miller—(laughter)—who, as you know, has under the N. P. been making great and undue profits. (Laughter.) Sir John Macdonald also claimed credit in connection with

THE CHINESE QUESTION.

He has put a tariff upon Chinamen as he has on almost everything else. (Laughter.) In 1872, when the Tories made the contract with British Columbia for the construction of the Canadian Pacific in ten years, I objected to that bargain on several grounds, and amongst others I said the road could not be completed within that time, except by Chinese labour, and I was abused from end to end of Canada for such a suggestion. They said I was advocating the use of Chinese labour in building the Canadian Pacific Railway—(cheers and laughter)—while my argument was that the bargain was objectionable because it practically involved for its execution the employment of Chinese labour. (Laughter.) Although I was abused for the statement, it was true. It is true that many thousands of Chinamen have been imported into British Columbia to build that railway within a period longer than the ten years at first proposed. (Cheers.) I have read a good deal on both sides of this controversy, and I have found much conflicting evidence. But some things seem established on the whole.

CHINAMEN DO NOT BECOME WHAT WE CALL SETTLERS.

They do not become real citizens of the country—(cheers)—they do not become Canadians; they do not intermingle with our people, they do not accept our civilization, and they carry their earnings away to their own country as soon as they have secured the pittance adequate for a livelihood there. Though they live amongst us they are not of us; they hold to their own special customs, and to habits of life and a scale of subsistence far below ours, and involving the degradation of white labour. (Cheers.) Thrift and providence are good things, but decency and the customs of modern civilization are essential to progress; and these are interfered with by the existing conditions of Chinese labour. If you consider men simply as machines, the Chinaman may be on the whole a cheaper machine than the Canadian, but I have never admitted that the labour of a man ought to be regarded exactly as that of a machine. (Cheers.) Other elements are involved. (Cheers.) Now,

there was only one Province, British Columbia, in which this question pressed upon the people as a practical grievance. And in that Province there was one time when it pressed with special force as a present and future danger, and that was during the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was obvious that the influx of Chinamen would be greater while construction was going on than before its commencement, or than after completion, and that the trouble would be worst when the road was finished. But nothing was done to prevent the evil. The Government refused to act. They said that as soon as the road was built, and not before, something would be done. Something was then done. A tariff was laid upon Chinamen. But, as I stated to you, the evil had been intensified, the mischief was accomplished. I saw in a newspaper the other day a correspondence from British Columbia, saying that two large shiploads of Chinese had just left the Province, and that there was no employment there now owing to the completion of the railway. The trouble is not a present influx, but the present excess. That was exactly the state of things which any sensible man would have anticipated. I am not of opinion, judging by the information I have been able to get, that the existing law is working satisfactorily. I believe it is admitted by the Government itself that the administration of it can be improved. MY VIEW WAS AND IS THAT THE PROHIBITION OF THE IMMIGRATION OF CHINAMEN IS THE ONLY LOGICAL OUTCOME OF THE OPINIONS AND PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH OUR PRESENT LAW IS BASED. It was said by Government, in opposition to this, that there was danger, if such a step were taken, of conflict with the Chinese Government. I believe it is admitted that the Chinese Government discountenances the emigration of its citizens, and, if so, that Government could hardly be dissatisfied with any action of ours which would help them to carry out their policy. (Applause.) Yet, I have recognized that it is an important object not to give offence to a friendly nation, and as the Government stated positively that such a law would give offence, I felt it my duty, as a public man, not to embarrass the Government by insisting upon prohibition unless it should appear to be absolutely necessary, but rather to accept in silence the assurances of the Government, and to endeavour to work successfully the proposed legislation. (Applause.) My reward for this forbearance has been the misrepresentation of our attitude, and I have thus been led to state my opinions. (Loud cheers.)

WORKINGMEN AND PARTIES.

HON. EDWARD BLAKE ON QUESTIONS AFFECTING WAGE-WORKERS.

Capitalists Allowed to Profit by the Saving Banks—Necessity of Protecting the Saving Workingman—Tory Acceptance of Liberal Doctrines—Review of Important Acts affecting Labour.

HON. EDWARD BLAKE, speaking at Deseronto, touched upon the relations of the parties to labour questions. In the course of his speech he said:—

One thing I would like to add to what I said at Belleville, suggested by a gentleman who came on the platform at the close of my speech and said, "Why didn't you refer to the fact that the Government itself had dismissed employés on the Intercolonial Railway because they were members of a labour organization." My reply was that I had forgotten it for the moment, but that it certainly was a notable instance of the kind I had already quoted. He said, "I, at any rate, remember it very well, I was one of the men discharged on that ground; and that is the reason I am here now instead of being down there." Fine champions these of the cause of labour! (Loud and prolonged applause.) I said I would certainly take care to remedy my omission, and now I have fulfilled my promise. (Laughter.) There are one or two points that remain to be alluded to in this connection. In his Ottawa speech Sir John Macdonald

CHARGED THE LIBERAL PARTY

with being opposed to the Government arrangements for encouraging the accumulation of the savings of the wage-earners, and particularly to the interest allowed wage-earners on deposits in the Government banks. That is an inaccurate statement of the facts. For my own part, I have always felt the deepest interest in schemes devised for promoting habits of thrift and providence amongst those who may be encouraged out of their daily earnings to make accumulations. I believe it to be the duty of public men to press upon those whom they may influence the obligation which rests upon them, in the period of strength and energy and skill, to endeavour to provide for the rainy day, for the period of old age, of infirmity, and sickness. And not

merely by exhortation should we encourage these habits, but by providing such public facilities as we can for the promotion of the great object. It is quite true, however, that a few years ago I did object, with some other members of the Liberal party, to one of the regulations governing these savings banks. This regulation allowed no less than \$3,000 to be deposited by a single individual upon the specially favourable terms which the Government gave as to interest and in other respects. And we knew that the provision, itself too liberal as to amount, was practically evaded by wealthy men, some depositing \$3,000 in their own name, \$3,000 in the wife's name, \$3,000 in a son's name, or \$3,000 in a daughter's name, and so on, thus securing

THE DEPOSIT OF A HANDSOME FORTUNE

at these special rates. I said, and I think it is the opinion of wage-earners generally, that it was not within the limit of reason to describe an arrangement by which \$3,000 or more was allowed to be deposited, as an arrangement for the benefit of wage-earners. (Applause.) I said that the maximum ought to be reduced to the reasonable sum which we might expect the wage-earner to accumulate. My own opinion is that when the sum accumulated approximates to a thousand dollars the best thing the owner can generally do is to become himself a homesteader, the owner of the home in which he and his family live. (Cheers.) But at any rate he has become in a modest way a capitalist. Now I was very much abused at that time for suggesting this limitation. It was said I was speaking against the interest of the wage-earner. As has often happened, however, after abusing me for a year or two for my suggestion, the Government has adopted that suggestion and has reduced the limit from what it was before to \$1,000. (Cheers.) So far from being opposed to favourable arrangements in the interests of the wage-earner I spoke upon that subject in 1885 thus:—

I am very glad to hear the hon. gentleman state that the P. O. Savings Banks are being extended throughout the country. There are many localities where there are no facilities for depositing savings but that which is given by these banks, and I am sure the House and the country will receive with gratification the announcement that the Government propose to extend the operation of an institution which has been, on the whole, extremely beneficial.

Again, in the same session, I moved for copies of all correspondence and petitions to the Postmaster-General, or any member of the Government, with reference to the adoption in Canada of a system to encourage small savings, similar to that brought in by the late Mr. Fawcett in England. And I said:—

Some time ago the British Government adopted, at the instance of the late Mr. Fawcett, a system which I think it is desirable to encourage in this country, for small savings in connection with the Post-office. The details of that plan were that a slip was handed out to any applicant which contained twelve compartments, and in each of these compartments the depositor was intended as he made savings enough to buy postage stamps, to put a stamp, and as soon as twelve of these were filled, amounting to a shilling, he was

ABLE TO DEPOSIT THAT AMOUNT

so that he was saved from the temptation, with reference to his small daily savings, of spending them and having them lost, and was permitted at once to buy a stamp, and then when a shilling was reached the nearest post-office received the list and he was credited with a shilling. I have one of these interesting slips here. Now it seems to me that if we adopted, with reference to our postage stamp currency, a similar system—perhaps by means of five cent or three cent stamps, and made an arrangement for as many as would make up a quarter, which is our usual small denomination of that kind, it would be extremely useful. I think every effort should be made to encourage a system of saving in those who have the least to save. The importance is not to be measured at all by the amount of the savings. A provident habit is that which is of the last consequence, and a provident habit should be stimulated amongst those who have but little to save, and in early life as a sure way of inducing habits of thrift and economy which will make better men, better citizens, and the country which is inhabited by them more prosperous. I have reason to believe that this system has been suggested for adoption to the Government some time ago, and if not, I think it is a matter which should be taken into consideration.

The Government objected on the score of expense; and I pointed out some fallacies in their arguments, and contended that the indirect advantages were to be considered, and should outweigh their objections. Now I attach the highest importance to this question of accumulation; BUT I AM DESIROUS THAT THE SPECIAL ADVANTAGES WHICH ARE OFFERED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY, ADVANTAGES IN EXCESS OF THOSE THE BANKS CAN GRANT, SHOULD BE CONFINED TO THE CLASS OF *BONA FIDE* WAGE-EARNERS. (Loud applause.) If you extend them to the capitalist, you practically arrange that capital shall be benefited at the expense of the public revenue, of which you yourselves contribute too large a proportion as it is. A great deal is said as to the prosperity of the country and of the wage-earning classes, for proof of which they point to the increase in the deposits. You will know yourselves how much there is in that argument; how much you have deposited in the savings banks within the last two years. There has been a large increase in the public deposits. I am glad to know that some portion of that increase has come from the wage-earners. I know that in some localities, circumstances have been such as to enable them to add a little to their accumulations, but I know, also, that in too many

cases the facts are otherwise, and the increase has come from a class which is very much better off than the wage-earning class; from the class of capitalists who have found it convenient and profitable in the dearth of safe and easily convertible investments to

WITHDRAW THEIR ACCUMULATIONS

from the mass of circulating capital and to sink it in the national debt on the advantageous terms offered by the Government. This does not help the wage-earner. It hurts him by hurting the general business of the country and establishing, without that justification which I have shown exists in the case of the wage-earner, an undue competition between the Government and the instrumentalities which exist for the collective and active employment in the general business of the available capital of the community. (Cheers.) Now on some other branches of the labour question I would like to speak to you as a wage-earning community, but on the whole I have thought it best to ask the reporter to reproduce an extract of my speech of 1882, which dealt with those topics; and to pass on to-night to some fresher subjects.

The extract from MR. BLAKE'S speech referred to is as follows

Without having made it the subject of an election cry or seeking to pose as the workingman's friend, I am prepared to affirm that the Liberal Administration of 1874 to 1878 paid more attention to the well-being, the social status, and the interests of the workingman than any administration which preceded or followed it; and that the particular interest which the Conservative party paid to the workingman was limited to the imposition on his shoulders of an enormous, unequal, and unjust taxation.

What was the position of the workingman in 1874, when the Liberal party came into power? A law had been put on the statute book a few years before with a great flourish of trumpets, as a great boon to the workingman, but it was found not long afterward

THAT PROMISED BOON WAS A BURDEN.

It was unsatisfactory in one important particular—that it was a measure of class legislation, dealing specially with the master and servant, and almost entirely in favour of the former and against the latter.

It was a law which, according to the interpretation of the word "intimidation," made it a criminal offence to watch a place of business with a view to obtain information while disputes respecting wages were in progress. It provided that the trial and conviction of those persons should be before two magistrates, and that

in all such cases the law of conspiracy should remain in full force. The Liberal Government, of which I myself was Minister of Justice, found this law on the statute book when they came into office. We set about to amend it, and we wiped out the odious element of class legislation altogether by repealing those provisions which applied to the master and servant. We also defined and limited the word "intimidation" so as to make it apply only where violence was threatened to person or property. We especially made it lawful to watch places of business for the purpose of receiving or communicating information. We allowed the accused under the law

THE OPTION OF TRIAL BY JURY,

and we abolished the odious application of the law of conspiracy under which, by the ruling of the courts, it had been made criminal for two or three workmen to combine together to accomplish objects which, if attained by any one of them singly, would be quite lawful. But that was not all. There were other laws on the statute book in which the doctrine of class legislation appeared in even more odious form. Under the ordinary law a breach of contract was merely a civil wrong, but to that general law there was an odious exception which prevailed in this country up to 1877. That exception provided that violation of agreements between master and servant, refusal to go to work, leaving employment without permission, or refusal to obey lawful commands, were punishable by fine and imprisonment as a crime. In the case of ordinary contracts there was no crime in the breach, but where it came to violation of agreements between master and servant the accused was liable to be sent to gaol. In my Act, repealing the former one, I redressed this grievance by declaring that breaches of contract, whether between master and servant or otherwise, shall only be regarded as civil wrongs and not as crimes.

Under these circumstances I was a little amused to see that Mr. Costigan has taken the credit to Tory legislation of having opened the door to the poor man to rise to positions of honour and trust, especially so when I contrast the professions of the hon. gentleman with one of the latest acts performed by the late Parliament and consummated by Tory influence. I hold that the highest position to which a citizen can aspire is that of being the representative of his fellow-citizens in the Parliament of the country.

The law, as it stood till quite recently, required a deposit of \$50 from each candidate for election. I think that even that was an unjust requirement, but during the last session, the Tories pro-

posed and they had carried in their gerrymandering bill, as one of its chief ornaments, a clause which increased this deposit from \$50 to \$200. When the bill was before the House, I moved an amendment to reduce the \$200 to \$50, but the Tory party, who were so desirous that the way and the path to honour should be kept open, declined to reduce it. There is another measure which it seems to me is in striking contrast to the Tory professions of interest in the workingman which becomes so profuse about election times. This is

THE SEAMAN'S ACT,

which was passed in great haste in 1873, and which provided that any one going on board a vessel for any purpose without permission of the master was guilty of a criminal offence, punishable with five years' imprisonment in penitentiary, and triable, as was contended by the courts, before the Police Magistrate alone, without the option of a judge or jury. The amended bill, passed by the House last session, provided that the crime should not be for going but for staying on board. It provided also for a possible reduction of the punishment to two years' imprisonment, but it made clear and beyond a doubt the provision respecting punishment—declaring that it should be only before the Police Magistrate. I moved an amendment, providing that in a case so serious that it permitted a maximum penalty of five years' imprisonment, the accused should have the benefit of trial by a jury of his peers, and the Government, and the Tory party, and Mr. Costigan, and all those friends of the workingman voted that amendment down, and deliberately said that the guilt or innocence of the party charged with this offence should be determined by a single judge of an inferior jurisdiction. * * * * Coming next to the Insolvent Law, I do not blame the Government for having repealed it on the whole, but it was well known that it contained provisions respecting liens which specially affected the workingmen, and that they had not been benefited by such repeal. There was another boon which the Tories had given to the workingman, and that was high taxes. Since the delusive promises held out to the workingmen in 1878, they had probably learned, many of them, that neither law, National Policy, nor tariff, would ensure their share in the profits of their labour, but that they would have to depend for this on their own exertions and concerted action, and that they would be exposed year after year to the operation of the law of demand and of competition on securing a proper return for the labour of their hands. The Government was alive to this fact also, and

IN GIVING A CONTRACT ON THE PACIFIC RAILWAY TO ONDERDONK AT A HIGHER PRICE THAN WAS TENDERED FOR BY OTHERS, THEY ADMITTED THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF THE FACT THAT AS ONDERDONK HAD AN ADJOINING CONTRACT, THE COMPETITION FOR LABOUR WOULD BE DIMINISHED MUCH MORE THAN IF THE CONTRACT WAS LET TO A NEW FIRM. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

ORGANIZED LABOR'S ENEMY.

TORY TYRANNY.

Men Bounced for Belonging to Labor Organizations — The Intercolonial Case—Sir John Macdonald's Denial—Mr. Blake's Reply.

Mr. BLAKE, in the course of his address at Hamilton, criticized, as he has done at other places, Sir John Macdonald's speech made at Ottawa, and intended to show the claims of the Conservative party upon the workingmen. He said:—I observe by the report of his speeches that Sir John Macdonald has tried to meet some of my criticisms, especially one, to which I may refer, that the Government which pretended to have so strong an interest in trades unions and combinations of workingmen had itself discharged employees on the Intercolonial Railway under its management because they were members of a labour organization. My speech on that point was made at Deseronto. Sir John Macdonald visited Deseronto some time afterwards—he has been following me pretty closely—(laughter)—and he said:—

Not long ago Mr. Blake in a speech, delivered, he believed, in that identical village, said that the Government had dismissed men employed on the Intercolonial Railway because they belonged to trades unions. On behalf of the Government he gave that statement the most clear and decided contradiction, and would challenge Mr. Blake on the floor of Parliament when it met again, to verify the statement that either on the Intercolonial or on any public work, big or little, had a man been dismissed for belonging to a trades union. (Loud cheers.) He would challenge Mr. Blake to give the particulars, and if that hon. gentleman did not do so he would stand convicted of having maligned the Government of the day. (Hear, hear.)

I stand by what I said. (Hear, hear.) I do not wait for the time of the assembling of Parliament to meet his challenge.

I MEET IT HERE

and now. (Loud applause.) I believe the facts to be that about the year 1881 an order was given to the engineers on the Intercolonial, who were members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, that they should either leave the Brotherhood or take their discharge. Some of the engineers felt that they could not resist the Government, and were forced to leave the Brotherhood, but the remainder, about a dozen men, I believe, refused to leave the Brotherhood and were obliged to take their discharge. (Shame!) These poor fellows appealed to their brethren. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is a very powerful body, and its members took up the case. A committee was appointed from the various railways in various parts of Canada. This committee went to Sir John Macdonald, the very man who has denied this charge, and has called upon me to prove it. They represented the case to him and called for the repeal of the order. I believe, though of this I am not certain, that they went also to the Acting Minister of Railways. But nothing was done. After a while Sir Charles Tupper, the Minister of Railways, returned. He saw the power of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, he knew there was a freemasonry between the members of all labour organizations, he saw the political effect of the situation, and at length the order was repealed and most of the men went back. I believe these are the facts of the case, and these are the facts upon which I rely to establish that the present Government did dismiss men from the Intercolonial Railway for belonging to a labour organization. (Loud applause).

Now, with reference to the arrest of the printers, you may remember that Sir John Macdonald boasted that he had legislated so as to relieve them. I showed that his legislation had excepted their cases and had not relieved them. (Laughter.) He also declared that he "happened to be Minister of Justice and Attorney-General, and that, in his capacity of Minister of Justice, he advised the representative of the Sovereign to at once release those printers and allow them to walk out once more as free men." I showed that they were never in gaol, and so could not have been "released and allowed to walk forth as free men." (Laughter.) I showed that they had been only bailed to appear at their trial, and so could not have been released by Sir John Macdonald in any sense, the matter being purely local, and not federal. (Laughter.) I showed that, in fact, he neither released them nor tried to release them; and I declared the whole story to be a slip of the

memory. (Laughter.) *He afterwards repeated it.* Thereupon I felt bound to restate the facts, and did so at St. Thomas, where I was still charitable enough to treat his statements as lapses of memory, or tricks of imagination. I told the people there that he had

GONE OVER THIS OLD STORY SO OFTEN

that he firmly believed it true; that he reminded me of King George IV., who was, you know, a very respectable monarch, as Sir John is a very respectable Minister—(laughter)—but who told a good many strange stories. (Laughter.) He was fond, was George IV., of uniforms and of military display; and, by dint of long telling the story, he got firmly to believe at last that he had been at the battle of Waterloo—(laughter)—and had led a desperate charge against the French at the head of his regiment. (Loud laughter.) After repeating this for many years, one night, being in the company of the great Duke of Wellington, he told it again, and appealed to the Duke to confirm it. “Arthur,” said the King, “you know I was there.” The Duke was in a quandary, between his devotion to the sovereign and his duty to the truth. (Laughter.) He reconciled them by answering, “*I have often heard your Majesty say so.*” (Roars of laughter.) So, I said, you may reply to Sir John Macdonald. (Laughter.) Well, after this further denial, the matter became more serious. He followed me at St. Thomas, and could not avoid discussing the question. He knew of my repeated challenge; he had the opportunity, and it was his duty to refresh that faded memory, to curb that vivid imagination, and to re-examine the facts of the case. My charitable excuses can serve no longer for what he there said.

WHAT DID HE SAY? THIS:

Mr. Blake had lately referred to that speech and stated that the printers were never sent to prison at all—that they had only been guilty of a misdemeanour, which was a bailable offence. Those men were, however, arrested. The hand of a constable was laid on their shoulder. They were under arrest and had ceased to be free men just as much as if they were under a gaoler’s lock and key. Mr. Blake had said he (Sir John) never released these men. Well, what he did do was to send up a *nolle prosequi*, an order to stop the prosecution, but such a storm of indignation had arisen that this did not need to be acted on, and Mr. Brown was compelled by the force of public opinion to stop the prosecution himself.”

We are now face to face with a serious question.

First of all he now admits that the men were never in gaol, next that he never advised the Governor-General to release them, and impliedly that he could not do so.

But he has a new story, he tells a fresh tale.

He says he sent up a "nolle prosequi," an order to stop the prosecution.

I deny the statement; *it is not true.*

In the first place,

NO BILL HAD BEEN PRESENTED TO, OR FOUND

by, the grand jury, and therefore, as Sir John Macdonald once knew, there could be no *nolle prosequi* at all. (Great laughter and applause.) But, in the second place, had there been a bill, Sir John Macdonald, as Attorney-General of the Dominion, had not, as he once knew, any power to send up a *nolle prosequi*. (Renewed laughter and applause.) The whole Dominion Government, with its army, navy and volunteers could not send up an efficacious *nolle prosequi*. (Cheers and laughter.) Any attempt to do it would have been an impudent nullity. It is part of the administration of justice. It is a local function. And, in the third place, as a matter of fact,

SIR JOHN MADE NO SUCH ATTEMPT.

(Uproarious laughter.) *I have caused the records to be searched and there is no proof that Sir John ever attempted any such thing.* But you may say that he ordered the prosecution to be stopped. He says so. But it is not true. He did not do it. He did not try to do it. He could not have done it had he tried.

IT IS ALL A FABRICATION.

Yet the prosecution was in fact, stopped and abandoned. Was that a creditable act? Was it an act the author of which should be supported by workingmen? Sir John says so. (Loud applause.) He appeals for the support of the workingmen of Canada on the ground that he ordered the abandonment of this prosecution. He says that the man who did that is worthy the support of every man who believes in the right of the workingmen to combine for their own advantage. I agree with him, and I ask you to-night to give your support to the man who did it. It is the man whom Sir John Macdonald is seeking to discredit and destroy, it is

OLIVER MOWAT,

Attorney-General of Ontario. (Tremendous applause.) He was sworn into office on the 31st of October, 1872, and took up this question and ordered the abandonment of the prosecution on the 7th November—within seven days of the time he was sworn into office—(Renewed applause.) I have here the return of Mr. Ken-

neth Mackenzie, Q.C., the Crown prosecutor, which he made on this case to the Crown Office:—

J. C. McMan and others : offence, conspiracy against master printers. Nothing was done in this case, the Attorney-General considering it was not desirable under the circumstances to proceed any further, so that the prosecution on the part of the Crown has been abandoned.

K. MACKENZIE.

Mr. Mowat did his duty in this matter. But he never said anything about it; he has been before you in several elections since that; but he never came before you claiming your support because he had done what was his duty. Mr. Mowat never tried to make party capital out of the discharge of his duty in the administration of criminal justice, even by telling you the truth as to the law and the facts. But here you find this other gentleman misrepresenting the facts, and saying he did what he did not do, misrepresenting the law, and saying he did what he could not do, and so seeking by an impudent misstatement to get credit to himself and inflict damage on his opponents. (Applause.) And I think it was full time to

STRIP HIM OF HIS BORROWED PLUMES,

to pluck away his stolen feathers, to restore them to their real owner, and leave the culprit “naked, shivering, and”—not “ashamed.” (Loud laughter and applause.) Judge of his other claims to support by this claim. (Hear, hear.) They have just as little foundation and merit. This is a sample case of his accuracy in his facts, of his correctness in his law, and of his fairness in controversy. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

(12)

PROVINCIAL QUESTIONS.

LIBERAL ADMINISTRATION IN ONTARIO.

WEAKNESS OF TORY OPPOSITION.

At Hamilton during the Local Campaign, Mr. BLAKE, after some preliminary words respecting Mr. Mowat and his Government, said:—We must remember that Government has been in power fourteen years, and it is to be expected that in that long interval there would be some acts of the Government with which some Liberals may not agree, indeed it can hardly be otherwise; but its general policy has been in full accord with Liberal principles, and has met with the full approval of the great body of the Liberals. My relations to Provincial affairs and Provincial politics are those of a citizen of Ontario deeply interested in its welfare; of a member of the Provincial Liberal party deeply anxious for the triumph of its principles; and of a supporter and follower of Mr. Mowat as our worthy and trusted leader. He is our chief, we follow him! he acts independently on his own judgment, with the advice of his able colleagues and the counsel of his friends; but he leads; he frames our policy, he guides our course. And though, as I have said, there may sometimes be some matters on which we may not see eye to eye, yet, in the main agreeing, we heartily support and follow him. We follow him first, because he is good in himself, and secondly, because he is better than those who set themselves up as his would-be successors. (Cheers.) And in this world, where all things are imperfect, where we cannot hope for absolute perfection, we must consider, when called on to make a choice, not merely a man's absolute, but also his relative qualities; we must consider whether we shall benefit by any change proposed to us. The relations of the leader of the Canadian Liberal party to the Provincial Prime Minister, as you will have seen, differ altogether from those which subsist between Sir John Macdonald, the leader of the Canadian Conservatives, and Mr. Meredith, the leader of the Provincial Opposition. Sir John has declared upon several platforms within the last few days that Mr. Meredith is his lieutenant, and he has asked the confidence and support of the people of Ontario for Mr. Meredith as in effect *his* Provincial Prime Minister, as his lieutenant. Sir John is thus

REALLY THE PROVINCIAL LEADER

of the Conservative party and Mr. Meredith holds the place he occupies in Sir John's room, simply because the law and his convenience do not allow Sir John to sit himself in the Local Legislature. Mr. Meredith, under these circumstances, is his subordinate, acts under him, follows his advice, does his bidding. Mr. Meredith then is not an independent man, the leader of an independent Provincial party, acting in accordance with the views and in the interest of the Provincial Conservatives whom he nominally leads. He is only the lieutenant of Sir John. (Cheers.) This is a very important distinction, when you recollect the condition for the last few years of the relations of Ontario and the Dominion. There are three great heads into which we may divide the Provincial questions which are attracting our attention. There ought to be only one great head, but there are three. I will talk first of that which ought to be the only head, namely, the

GENERAL INTERNAL POLICY

and course of the Government, whether executive or legislative. Now, you have an administration which has ruled for fourteen years, for a longer term under the same Minister than has been known in modern times; an administration which has so ruled in the blaze of day, with a hostile Opposition, anxious to find, and establish, and proclaim anything that was wrong; with some hostile members, and a hostile press, ready to assert that there is something wrong, whether or no there be in fact anything wrong; and yet no serious act of wrongdoing has been plausibly alleged, still less established. (Cheers.) You have an administration, honest, pure, above reasonable suspicion of jobbery or corruption; and that, in these days, is no small matter. (Cheers.) You have an administration at once prudent and progressive, which has given general satisfaction by its course of executive action. It has dispensed such moneys as were entrusted to it by the Legislature; it has carried out the policy which commended itself to the Legislature, fairly, honestly, with reasonable liberality, and with due regard to the efficiency and wants of the public service. You find

NO SERIOUS QUESTION

raised with regard to expenditure. Of the many millions which have been expended, exception has been taken by the Opposition to only a few thousands. We are not to assume that even these expenditures were really questionable, simply because they chose

to question them ; but the figures show how trifling is the amount about which even those whose business it is to criticize thought a question could be raised. You find in a word that no serious fault is shown with the executive management of the Government. Take, then,

THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

You have had a vigorous series of legislative Acts. Legislation has been kept fully abreast of public opinion. In this democratic age when, fortunately, as we believe, the people are taking and are expected to take, year by year, a more general, a more active, and more intelligent share in moulding and fashioning public policy, I, for my part, am wholly opposed to legislation which shall be in advance of public opinion. (Cheers.) I believe it be the duty of the leaders of the public mind to educate the public mind up to the acceptance of a policy, and then to bring down the legislation which shall crystallize that policy into law. (Cheers.) On the subject of legislation, as well as of administration, I believe that this Government and this party is practically unassailable. (Applause.) Then, if you come to the

QUESTION OF ABILITY,

and consider their ability in council or their ability in debate, whether you consider their absolute, or their relative, ability, the administration is one of which Ontario has just cause to be proud. (Loud cheering.) We have a right to be proud that notwithstanding the drain which is made upon us is in the walks of the professions, in the walks of commerce and business, in the larger political arena in which I happen to be a humble instrument, we have yet been able to secure a Provincial Administration so strong in talent and ability, in wise executive, and great legislative power ; men so strong that Ontario would be ready to claim their full fitness to become eminent members of a Canadian Ministry, instead of a Provincial Cabinet. (Great applause.) And great as is their merit absolutely, it is far greater relatively. I ask you, I tell you to ask him to say when he comes here, who has Mr. Meredith behind him. (Cheers and laughter.) He is not first ; he is alone. Where is the second man, not to say the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth man with whom an administration could be constructed, comparing in the elements of respectability and power with those he would condemn ? (Hear, hear.) Their candidates for the coming Legislature have been nominated and are now before the country, and if every man whom they have put forward were elected, they could not find among them all six such men as those whom you are asked to displace in their favour.

(Cheers.) They could not even form a respectable Government, so far as their candidates have proved a title to public confidence. Now then, this is the general state of things with reference to the position of this Government, and of the Liberal party absolutely and relatively. On this great division of the subject *their record is unassailed and unassailable*, and there ought to be no doubt whatever as to the verdict of the people. But I have told you that there were other heads than this, which ought to be the only head. The second is the

EXTERNAL POLICY OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

There ought to be no call for an external policy, but unfortunately, we have been forced, for some years back, to engage in an external or foreign policy. Happy is the Province, and happy the Dominion, which has no foreign policy at all; as happy, as a great writer once said, is the nation which has no history! There ought to be harmony and not discord, between the different elements of Canada. (Cheers.) I am sorry it is not so. But it is not our fault in Ontario. We, in this Province, have been latterly forced to fight for our liberties, aye, for our existence. Our boundaries have been sought to be restricted by one-half; our lands to the extent of half our inheritance have been claimed, and even at this moment are being claimed by another power, which seeks to wrest them from us. Our northern boundary is still kept unsettled by the action of that power, which refuses to act upon the spirit of the decision of the Privy Council, and keeps open, as a festering sore, this question which might have been settled fourteen years ago if the men now in power in the Dominion had but agreed to my views as to the best settlement of the boundary. But, no; they wouldn't. Sir John Macdonald, when I proposed a limit, said we were so far apart that there was no use attempting to find common ground. He placed the boundary at Port Arthur; I put it at the Lake of the Woods. We were too far apart, he said, to talk about settlement. We are together now. (Cheers.) Where have we met? On what shore are we together at last? At the Lake of the Woods. (Tremendous laughter and applause.) *I have not gone to him; I have not even met him half way; he has been driven to come to me.* (Cheers.) We have been fighting for our rights to escheats, we have been fighting for our right to issue licenses, we have been fighting for the most important power of all, the power to legislate finally upon our own purely local affairs not affecting Canadian interests, a right which has been, and is to-day, denied to us. (Cheers.) We have been fighting for these rights in the Courts of Ontario, in the Courts of Canada, in the Privy Council at the foot of the Throne. The

battles have been long and arduous, the battles have been costly, but they have all been won so far. (Tumultuous applause.) The great constitutional lawyer has been beaten every time. (Laughter and renewed applause.) Instead of being, as he proudly boasted in 1882, infallibly right, he has been found

INFALLIBLY WRONG.

(Loud laughter.) And now, whatever he says, you may believe that it is *just not so*. (Shouts of laughter.) His standing as a constitutional lawyer is lost, and his reputation shattered forever. But he fights still. And at whose cost? At ours. (Applause.) Why, only last session, we were called upon to vote several thousand dollars to pay Mr. Dalton McCarthy's costs in contesting the right of Ontario to the lands of Ontario, in a suit that is going on to-day, and they say they intend, if necessary, to take it to the Privy Council, so as to sweep away our lands if they can. We are fighting to-day for our lands and for our northern boundary; we are fighting to-day against the arbitrary exercise of the power of disallowance, and in these fights these men are our opponents. They say:—There's no use talking about these things; they are dead issues. (Laughter and applause.) Those that are in one sense dead are dead because we have won; because they have been settled the way we have wished them settled. (Cheers and renewed laughter.) But they want to hear nothing more about them, and they would be glad if besides being dead they were buried, too. (Great applause.) But they are not yet buried; and besides, their ghosts still haunt the earth, and they alarm and terrify, as they should alarm and terrify, the men who wrongfully raised these questions, who fought them as long as they could, and as hard as they could, and have been beaten so far in every struggle—(cheers)—and who want badly now to lay these ghosts. But they will not down. (Laughter.) Even if these questions have been settled, what is your duty and mine? To consider which of the two parties in these conflicts has been the party in the right; which of the two parties it is that has been standing up for the real rights of Ontario and the real rights of the Dominion, the proved rights of the Province and the proved rights of the Dominion. Which is that party? The Liberal party of Ontario, led by Oliver Mowat. (Enthusiastic cheering.) Who is it that has been

STRUGGLING TO INFRINGE ON OUR RIGHTS,

who is it that, but for Mr. Mowat, might have wrested them from our hands? It is Mr. Meredith's chief; it is the man of whom he

is the lieutenant; it is Sir John Macdonald. (Loud cheers.) And if that be so, your duty to-day is to cast up the accounts between these two, and reward the patriot and punish the traitor. (Renewed cheering.) These contests were not confined to the courts. They went beyond the courts and reached the polls. In the last two elections so well fought, and so gallantly won, by Mr. Mowat, who was his principal adversary? Was it Mr. Meredith and Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Creighton, or Mr. Solomon White, with whom he is now traversing the country, that bright particular star he brings with him everywhere to show what brilliant colleagues he possesses, and what good material he has to form a Government? (Laughter.) Not so. These men were not foemen worthy of Mr. Mowat's steel; they were not worth powder and shot. (Laughter and cheers.) Mr. Mowat's principal adversaries were Sir John Macdonald and the Dominion Government, with their power, their influence, their patronage, their contractors' money, and the timber lands of Ontario, which they fraudulently took. (Cheers.) This is the third contest upon this line; and in this third contest whom do you find the main strength of the Provincial Opposition? They do not, indeed, talk much Provincial politics aloud on the platform; they deal mostly in Dominion politics, but there is a large spice of Provincial politics thrown in, and they do a good deal of work off the platform. (Laughter.) Yes; you find *the great combination troupe* has been traversing the whole Province seeking to influence the fate of the Provincial election. And as the polling-day approaches you find that they have separated. They can't do their work fast enough together, so they have divided their forces, and Mr. Foster has gone to my riding, and Mr. White once again to Peterborough, and they have dispersed over the land to put in a last good word for Sir John Macdonald, the real Provincial leader, and for his lieutenant, Mr. Meredith, in this local contest. (Cheers.) They are asking your verdict in this Ontario contest.

WHO ARE THEY?

Not only Sir John Macdonald, the Prime Minister of Canada, but also Mr. White and Mr. Chapleau from Quebec, Mr. Foster from New Brunswick, Mr. Thompson from Nova Scotia, all deeply, oh, so deeply, interested in Ontario Provincial affairs and Ontario Provincial elections! (Loud applause.) They have generously come to us, poor, ignorant people of Ontario, who do not know enough to govern ourselves, who do not know what is for our good, to teach us with all the wisdom of Québec, and Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, what is good for us; to show us the way we should go! (Loud cheers.) Let us receive these lessons of superior wisdom with all due humility. (Laughter.) Let us

bow before these higher intelligences ; let us listen to these words of sweetness and light ; let us do as they would have us do ! (Cheers and laughter.) No ! not so ! Mr. Mowat has been called to attend to the duties of administration for these many years in the face not merely of foes without, but of traitors within. (Loud applause.) And he has beat them both. (Great cheering.) Whether in the Legislature, with their arguments, or their money—(cheers)—whether in the courts, whether at the polls, he has beat them both, and he has beat them all. (Renewed cheers.) Mr. Meredith, the lieutenant of Sir John Macdonald, acting for Sir John Macdonald, filling his place, doing his will, this being now their avowed relation, is the chief traitor within the gates. (Cheers.) And now he asks you not merely to admit him once again within the gates, but to let him into the citadel itself—(cheers.)—not merely to let him into the citadel, but to place him in absolute command of the fortress ! (Cheers and cries of “Never.”) And, if you do this, considering that these struggles are not yet ended, what result must you expect ? Do you suppose there will be a very vigilant defence by Mr. Meredith of the rights of Ontario against Sir John Macdonald ? (Cries of “No” and loud cheers.) It is his own lieutenant whom Sir John asks you to put there in order to make things easier for himself. (Cheers and laughter.) If you agree with the great wolf to put the little wolf in charge of the sheep-fold, do you think you will have got hold of a very good watch-dog ? (Tremendous laughter and applause.) You know what Sir John would do with the boundary, and of course his lieutenant will and must agree with him. Of course he will ; else he will cease to be his lieutenant. The captain will cashier the mutinous lieutenant should he not obey orders, and appoint another in his room—(laughter)—he will put some other of his puppets into the place. (Cheers.) And so as to

OUR LEGISLATIVE RIGHTS.

What about the struggle against the disallowance of our purely local laws, if you have in office in Ontario only the lieutenant of him who disallows those laws ? There would be no struggle ! You would have peace and harmony—the same sort of peace and harmony that resulted when the lamb was comfortably lodged inside the lion ! (Cheers and laughter.) Sir John may ask again for your licenses ; he will ask, doubtless, for your lands ; he has wished them long, he has struggled for them hard ; he will insist on an adverse northern boundary ; once he gets his lieutenant in office he will doubtless re-assert his claims and enforce his authority against his subordinate. (Cheers.) I advise you to hold the fort—(cheers)—I advise you to hold your own—(cheers)—

I advise you, having rights which you value, knowing that those rights have been boldly asserted, carefully guarded, vigilantly watched, and successfully protected for these many years, to hold to the men who have met and defeated the enemy, who have encountered all the hostility, and repelled all the missiles of the whole of the Conservative party of the Dominion, hostility aroused and missiles flung, just because these men were true to their Province! (Cheers.) I advise you to see to it that these men are supported to-day as they never were supported before. (Loud cheering.) Don't set the lieutenant to fight the captain—(great applause and laughter)—else, you know, the captain may call a drum-head court-martial, try the lieutenant for mutiny, and string him up. (Renewed laughter and applause.) So much for the foreign policy under which Mr. Mowat has been fighting for Ontario's boundaries, for Ontario's lands, for Ontario's treasures, for Ontario's jurisdictions, for Ontario's legislative rights, and under which he is, if need be, prepared to fight still on the same lines should you appoint him again to the same honourable though arduous position. (Loud applause.) But there is yet another and a last head, or division, of the issues of the day. There is what they in England, when the Liberal party was fighting the election of '85, called

“THE UNAUTHORIZED PROGRAMME,”

and it is upon the unauthorized programme that the Tories are depending in this contest. They are depending upon the unauthorized programme of the No Popery cry. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Mr. Meredith disclaims it—and profits by it. (Renewed applause.) He sees his organs create it, his followers use it, he stands on the platform and hears their talk; he sees thousands of the *Mail* and other Tory newspapers sent to the Liberal Protestants throughout the land with a view, by misrepresentations, to delude and deceive them; he sees their precious campaign literature circulated among this class, just as there was another campaign sheet of a very different kind, circulated by him amongst the Roman Catholics in 1883—(cheers and laughter)—he sees that just as they addressed the Roman Catholic electors with false representations as to the facts and the relations of the parties in 1883, so they are doing with regard to the Protestants in 1886—(applause)—he sees the sinister and infamous efforts made, in interest, to rouse the religious bigotry of the people by these representations, and he knows that

“THE MAIN DEPENDENCE OF HIS FRIENDS

ous applause.) I have nothing to do with it,

he says; I indignantly deny that I say any of these things—that I do any of these things. But he knows they are being done, and he proposes to profit by them. The *Mail* says that he must act on the line it marks out; that if he wins, “the intelligent public opinion” by which he wins will ensure such and such results. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) And the other day, I think at Guelph, he went so far as to adopt a portion of the cries, and to speak of a “mutilated Bible.” Now, what is it all about? The subject may be divided into two parts. There were some slight amendments made in the provisions of the Separate School law, the principal ones made two Parliaments ago, unobjected to by the Opposition, unobjected to by the press, unobjected to by the people, unobjected to at each of the two general elections which succeeded, unobjected to during this whole interval of nearly eight years, and only now brought up to serve as an election cry, in the hope that, by a sudden stroke, by hurling forth these misrepresentations, and creating a cloud of passion and prejudice, before there is time to meet and to dissipate it, they may overbear sense and reason and knowledge and fair play. (Cheers.) So far as I can judge (except perhaps as to one trifling point which has been raised in this city, and in respect of which anything that may have been overlooked can, as has been explained, be easily amended; the question, in one contingency, of a difference in the two rates), these changes are entirely unobjectionable. The second is the question of

THE BIBLE IN THE SCHOOLS.

I ask leave to speak to you on this question as one who has taken a deep interest in the question, and even had something to do with the steps which resulted in the present arrangement. How was it two or three years ago? The five thousand Public School teachers in Ontario had the power to read the Bible in the schools. Of these, many were young; many were not specially trained in the making of proper selections for the purpose from the Bible; some were not very specially devout; some were not very specially discreet; and that being the condition of things, in about one-half of our Public Schools, and one-half alone, there was, speaking in the large and by comparison, and of course with creditable exceptions, a comparatively perfunctory and desultory, and not a regular or orderly, reading of some portion of the Word of God. And in the other half of the schools there was none. The Protestant Churches of Ontario, about that time, took up this subject and called for an improvement. The great denominations spoke; the Methodist Conference spoke, the Presbyterian Assembly spoke, the Church of England Synods,

or some of them, spoke, and I believe other bodies also spoke. Eminent men amongst the Baptists and Congregationalists spoke, and in my humble way I used what little influence I could to forward the movement. As Chancellor of the University of Toronto—one of the highest of the undeserved honours which have been conferred upon me,—it is my high duty each year to address the Convocation, and through that body the Province at large, upon the aspect of educational affairs. In June, 1884, I spoke as Chancellor upon this question of religious instruction in the schools. Let me read you what I then said:—

I want to make one practical proposal with reference to religion in the schools, and I maintain that if this proposal is not acceptable to the denominations it is to be regretted, and it proves in the plainest way the impossibility of such an element on any other basis. I see no reason why the heads of the various denominations of this country, Protestant and Catholic, should not unite in a selection of passages of Sacred Writ, without note or comment, which it should be the duty of the masters to set for the scholars to learn and repeat daily in the Public Schools of the land. I think it perfectly possible in the present more happy sentiment which prevails among the different religious creeds for such a compilation to be made by them. The State cannot make it—it cannot attempt it; and if those who call for religion in the Public Schools will meet together and will agree that certain passages may be learned and repeated, without note or comment, without exposition or explanation, by the master—leaving that to the pastor or parent at home or in church—then that can be done which would be of very great consequence. It is of the last consequence, not merely that the Bible should be read, but that while the memory is young, fresh and retentive, its words should be stored in the mind, which will then retain the impression. If that can be done, much will be done; if that cannot be done, by common consent of the denominations, I ask you what can be done?

Now, a few days later the Synod of the Church of England Diocese of Toronto met in that city. I happened to be Chancellor of the diocese, and a member of the Synod. Another member proposed a resolution looking towards Separate Schools. Many members, including Senator Allan, the Chancellor of the University of Trinity College,

OBJECTED TO THAT PROPOSAL.

I was amongst them. (Applause.) As a steadfast friend of our system of common school education, I spoke again; and I will trouble you with what I then said, because, mark you, this was at the time when this whole scheme was in the public mind, when we were discussing it amongst ourselves, when we were endeavouring to find a plan upon which we could agree, and when there were no so-called “politics” in it. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) :—

Mr. Blake said it would be unfortunate if this resolution were carried out. If, now that there was a united effort being made, the Synod were to appoint

a committee to discuss a separatist move, they would defeat their own object. He was strongly impressed with the views of Mr. Allan and Mr. Marling. The religious bodies and the clergy who represented them were largely responsible for the apathetic condition of public opinion, which had resulted in there being a necessity for this move for more of such religious instruction as may be possible under the common school system. He maintained that the first thing to be considered with reference to the Public Schools in this connection is whether they could not get the various Christian denominations, Protestant and Roman Catholic, to agree upon a collection of passages of Scripture, which should not merely be read, but which should be learned by the children in the schools and repeated there. (Applause.) A large portion of the voluntary work in the Sunday school and of the preparation for the Sunday school would thus be done. The reading of the Scripture, whether by the teacher or the teacher and scholars responsively, was a good thing, but it was not enough. While the mind of the child was receptive it should be stored with the most precious passages of Scripture, which would be a treasury on which to draw in after years. (Loud applause.) He agreed that they could not expect to impart religious instruction after school hours. The school hours were already, in many cases, too long. (Applause. More could be learned in a shorter time. To keep the children at school an hour longer one or two days in the week for religious instruction would mean that they were to be penalized on those days. (Applause.) Let the secular lessons close an hour earlier one or two days in the week, and the religious instruction be imparted in the time thus gained. Rev. Mr. Lewis said they ought to take the highest ground, but in confining this motion to the cities and towns they were making a concession to the practicable, and he asked that the practicable should be kept in view throughout. If they advanced frankly and freely and generously, and with open heart to the other denominations on this subject, they would solve the difficulty. (Applause.) Some thought the Government should take the matter in hand. Did they suppose that any Government would not be anxious to carry out this reform, if it could be done? The difficulty was in the unhappy divisions in the Christian world. (Renewed applause.) Why could they not heal them? He believed the possible common ground was wider than that now occupied. (Loud and long applause.)

Now, the spirit favourable to our national system of education prevailed in the Synod—(cheers)—a motion for a committee to confer with the other religious bodies was passed. I was of the delegation, and was appointed as the spokesman of my own Church to express to the Presbyterian Assembly, and also, if possible, to the Methodist Conference, our desire that there should be, on this great question,

JOINT ACTION OF THE CHURCHES.

The Churches approached each other; they agreed to co-operate with each other, and I thanked God for it. (Loud applause.) I thanked God for it, because I thought it was an indication that we were beginning to sink, in some degree, our sectarianism, and to realize our points of agreement; to recognize more and more how much there was that we all held together of the fundamental common truths of Christianity. I thanked God for it, because I

thought it pointed to a broader, more generous, more Christian feeling which boded great good for the Church and for the world. The several Church bodies appointed a general delegation to wait upon the Government. They met the Government, and the Government, at their instigation, at the instigation of the Protestant Christianity of the Province of Ontario, agreed to go forward. Well, just at this time, when the Government agreed to go forward, a Book of Selections appears to have been in course of preparation as a private venture, by Mr. Kerr, a gentleman of my own profession, a scholar, a Protestant, who happens to belong to the opposite school of politics from mine. That compilation being intended by Mr. Kerr for general use in the education of the young, he thought it would be a good thing to obtain the approval of his work by the heads of the Christian denominations; and he had gone, it seems, to the Archbishop of Toronto, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in our Province, and asked him to look at it. And the Archbishop looked at it and said he did not object to it, with the exception that he suggested the substitution of "WHO" FOR "WHICH" in the Lord's Prayer. And, however bad the Archbishop's theology may be, I think you will all admit that his grammar was correct. (Loud laughter and applause.) Now hearing of the proposed action of the Government, Mr. Kerr submitted his papers to the Minister of Education, Mr. Ross. He said:—I have been engaged on this work, and here is the result. Mr. Ross looked at it, and thought it worthy of consideration. He acted, though doubtless on his own judgment, upon the very lines I had suggested in the speech I have quoted. I had pointed out that this was necessarily a work for the united action of the Churches, and not for the Government. On this same view Mr. Ross asked leading and representative men of the various Protestant Churches to help him, to take the book, to look at it, to consider whether they thought it worthy and suitable, to pass their verdict upon it. And these leading, godly men, including the heads and many of the most eminent men of the Baptists, the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and the Church of England, accepted this great responsibility, undertook the task, and appointed a sub-committee of their number, who went over the book, revised and altered it, and reported in favour of the Book of Selections. (Cheers.) And they, having reported in favour of the Book of Selections, the Government adopted the book and authorized it. Amongst these men were those who were specially qualified, not only as great Biblical scholars, as trained Bible teachers, but also as being the responsible persons connected with the higher education of the young. THEY INCLUDED, I BELIEVE, PRINCIPAL CAVEN, THE HEAD OF THE KNOX PRESBY-

TERIAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE; PROVOST BODY, THE HEAD OF TRINITY UNIVERSITY, ONE OF THE THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; PRINCIPAL NELLES, THE HEAD OF VICTORIA, THE METHODIST UNIVERSITY, AND PRINCIPAL CASTLE, THE HEAD OF THE BAPTIST COLLEGE: SO YOU SEE EVERY PRECAUTION WAS TAKEN TO GET THE VERDICT OF AN AUTHORITY COMMITTEE. On the strength of that verdict and judgment it was that the Government authorized the book; and made regulations requiring that it should be read in the schools; and when the thing was done the Churches rejoiced that it was done. They rejoiced in it collectively, they rejoiced in it individually. Resolutions were passed commending these results. They were deemed to be of great importance and advantage to the cause of Protestant and Evangelical religion. Nor were these rejoicings confined to the clergy or to the Church bodies; the secular world joined in. Why, even the *Mail* came out with a strong article approving of the selections, congratulating Mr. Ross upon the admirable result, pointing out that the book contained those passages of Scripture upon which all Christian bodies could agree, stating that it might have been very easy to get into a difficulty, which Mr. Ross, by the steps he had taken, had entirely avoided. My bishop and the Synod of my Church were amongst those who rejoiced in this result. What has the effect been? Instead of a desultory and perfunctory reading of some passages chosen at the will and discretion of individual teachers, in only one-half the schools, you have regular, profitable, orderly, systematic reading of passages approved as the best for the purposes by the religious authorities; and this in 98 per cent., practically in all the Public schools of Ontario. (Loud cheers.) And yet there are Protestants, so-called, men who claim and profess to be zealous for the spread of religious truth and knowledge, for the wider reading of the Bible in the schools, who object to this result, and who declare that a "great evil and wrong has been done!" What are their grounds? The first is that these are selections, that this is not the whole Bible. I want to know who it is who knows the book, that proposes as most profitable for the young minds, and during the short time that can be devoted to religious exercises in the schools, that the Bible should be read from cover to cover in the Public schools? (Hear, hear.) If there is anybody who knows the book who would propose that as the best and most edifying way of dealing with the case, I would like to put him under examination for a while. (Applause.) There is nobody, I fancy, who really and seriously proposes that. Is it done even in the Sunday schools? You know that as a rule it is not. You know that

THE GREAT INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION HAS
ESTABLISHED SELECTIONS,

because that is the practical and profitable way. Is it done in the home, in teaching the young children? You know that as a rule it is not. Is it done in family devotion? I don't know how it is in other homes, I know how it is in my own. I do not read the Bible from cover to cover in the mixed circle that gathers at my table in the morning. I know I make selections, and I suppose most heads of families make selections also. (Loud applause.) My wife said the other day, when she heard this rising storm—she doesn't know much about the political aspect of this question; but she said to me:—"I wonder if I have been so wrong all my life as would appear. I have brought all the children up in their earlier years by instruction in a book of selections—not the Book of Selections under discussion, it is hardly old enough for that, but another—and I thought," she said, "I was doing my duty by them, but it seems I have been very wrong." I am afraid there are a great many more mothers just in the same predicament, according to the new lights that have arisen. (Cheers and laughter.) In my own CHURCH PRAYER BOOK we have authorized selections which we read through year after year. There seems to me no ground for reasonable controversy. I have no doubt the best thing is the selections. (Cheers.) It is the thing which was desired by the Churches, and the accomplishment of which was rejoiced in by the Churches. Now, always, you must remember that what we can do in the Public school is only a part, and a small part, of the work. The whole religious instruction of our children is not to be carried on in the schools. Far from it! There is the work of the home, the work of the pulpit, the work of the Sunday school. We may supplement and assist this by the reading of the selections in the schools. But even these must be expounded elsewhere, and if there are other passages for which you or I have a special regard, but which are not to be found in the Book of Selections, all we have to do is to read those passages to our children, and to impress them upon their minds by instruction and illustration. I maintain that if the selections are regularly used they will do much more good than any attempted reading in the schools of the whole Bible. (Cheers.) But again they say, that the Bible is banished from the Public schools. I understand it not to be banished from the Public schools. (Cheers.) THE TEACHERS MAY STILL USE THE WHOLE BIBLE. I understand that the teachers may, if they choose, still use any part of the Bible in the instruction of the scholars, but they are also

obliged to use these particular parts. They may supplement, by the reading of other parts, but those parts which are selected they must read. Therefore, there is nothing whatever in that. But it is said the selections omit important passages. Of course they do. The whole Bible is important, and if you make selections out of a book of which every word is important, you must omit important passages. The very

ESSENCE OF SELECTION IS OMISSION.

What sort of selection would it be that didn't—select? (Loud laughter and applause.) But the most important and most useful passages for the purpose are what you ought to choose in selection. You must not forget that the very Bible which these gentlemen are so zealous to defend tells you: Milk for babes; strong meat for men. (Loud applause.) And, I think, that is a principle which you may very fairly use in making your selections for the use of the children. The only question then is:—

IS THE SELECTION A GOOD ONE?

I abide by the judgment of the godly and learned and eminent men of those various denominations who met together for the single object of deciding whether these were good and fit and proper selections, whether the work was suitable, who moulded it as they thought right, and who unanimously decided in the affirmative. (Cheers.) I abide by the judgment of the various Church bodies which endorsed it. (Renewed cheers.) I know man's work is imperfect. It would be extraordinary if there were no ground for cavil or objection. But we have here a great consensus of opinion of the eminent and representative men who took the responsibility on behalf of the Church bodies of commending the work, and of the Church bodies themselves, a weight which overbears, in my poor judgment, the strained and hysterical complaints of a few discontented men who, silent when they should have spoken, silent where they should have spoken, speak when and where they should be silent, who reserve their clamours till an election; who cry out only when they can do harm and when they cannot possibly accomplish good; and who exclaim with a partiality and an injustice, a vehemence and a zeal, which savours of the earth earthy, and is far enough removed to my apprehension from a righteous and Christian temper and spirit. (Loud applause.) Then they say, "Oh, but the Archbishop had a hand in it," or a finger in it at least—(laughter)—and they seem to think that the Book of Selections is contaminated by his

touch. Now I regard this as perfectly absurd. (Applause.) The Protestant ministers who revised these selections knew that the Archbishop had seen them or they did not. If they knew it, I suppose the result would be to make them all the more jealous, to make them all the more determined to see that the general result was in genuine furtherance of Evangelical and Protestant principles. (Cheers.) If they did not know the fact, I want to be told in what way the unknown circumstance interfered with their freedom of action? (Loud applause and laughter.) There they were and there they acted. If the Book of Selections be good, and pure, and beneficial, supposing the Archbishop had had no hand in it at all, has it become bad, and impure, and injurious because it turns out he saw it. (Cheers and laughter.) But they say:—Why should he see it? Well you know my views about that. I gave them in the two speeches which I have quoted to you. I asked that the representatives of the Christian denominations, Protestant and Catholic, should agree upon the selections. (Loud cheers.) I say that the Archbishop should have seen it. Why? Because

OUR HIGH SCHOOLS ARE PURELY NATIONAL,

and we have in them, and I am glad of it, numbers of Roman Catholics as well as of Protestants. (Cheers.) Because our system of Public Schools, though there are some Separate Schools, is yet, in spirit and practice, national. (Cheers.) Because there are now being educated in the National Public Schools two-thirds of the Roman Catholic children of Ontario—50,000 children. (Cheers.) Because I am a lover of the system of Public School education as the best. (Loud cheers.) Not that I want to force it upon our Roman Catholic brethren. Not that I want to deprive them of their stipulated rights—far from it—but I want to persuade them, so far as I can, to adopt it. I want to give them no opportunity or stimulus to create more Separate Schools, or to leave the Public Schools, on the ground that we, the Protestant majority, are narrow or unjust, arbitrary or ungenerous, with reference to the Public School system. (Loud cheers.) I want the Public Schools to grow in vigour, and in their national character. I want to see the youth of this country, as far as possible, educated together. (Cheers.) I want to see the friendships of youth, which shall last through time, and I trust through eternity, formed in school days between Protestant and Catholic. (Loud and prolonged applause.) I want to see our children, our young men, and young women grow up as friends, no matter what their diversities of creed or nationality

may be. (Cheers.) I don't want to proselytize through this fellowship; I don't want to interfere with any man's conscientious conviction as to Separate Schools; but neither do I want to interfere with any man's right to freely use the Public Schools; and therefore when I spoke as Chancellor of the University, and as a member of the Synod of my own Church, I spoke under the conviction that it would be an unjust and impolitic thing to suggest that the Protestant Churches alone should act and be consulted without any regard to the rights and interests of the guardians of the Roman Catholic High School pupils and of 50,000 pupils of the Public Schools. I know not to-day, in the midst of this controversy, whether the Government at any time submitted this document to the Archbishop. If they did not, then, unless the submission by Mr. Kerr were held to answer the purpose, I should say, as I intimated in 1884, a mistake had been made. (Applause.) I should say an excuse would so be given to Roman Catholics to say:—We must build more Separate Schools, we must withdraw our children from the Public Schools, for we are not consulted as to this with regard to which the others are consulted, though there are some of our children in the High Schools. fifty thousand of our children in the Public Schools. (Cheers.) Now, on this subject, mark you,

THERE WAS NO OBJECTION FROM ANY PERSON

at the time. There was no objection until very recently; and it is upon the eve of an election that it is made, and I beg you not to be led astray by the cry that is raised. Mr. Meredith may now stand upon a public platform and declare that he is for the whole Bible, and opposed to a "mutilated" Bible. I say if he was opposed to the principle of selection, or if he was opposed to the matter of the selections, or to omissions in the selections, it was his duty to have raised that question in the Legislature, in which he was the leader of the Opposition. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) I tell him it is a base, a cowardly thing, having held his peace then, to raise his voice now, on the eve of an election, in the hope of gaining over some Protestant Liberals who may be misled through misinformation and misapprehension in this matter. (Renewed and vociferous cheering.) Be not led astray. Consider our situation. Who are we? What are we? There are here, I suppose, in this audience, a great majority of those who think with me. There are here, I suppose, a large majority of Protestants; I hope there are some Roman Catholics. But I will address for a moment those who are of my own religious creed, the Protestant faith. I say, then, to my Protestant friends here present, that we

are five-sixths of the population of the Province in numbers while our Roman Catholic brethren are but one-sixth. I say to my Protestant friends:—We believe, rightly or wrongly, that our religion is the true one. We protest, rightly or wrongly, against certain dogmatic errors which we think exist in the faith of the Church of Rome; and if there be five of us to every one of them in numbers, and if we have faith in our religion; if we believe it to be the purer and better religion, I want to know WHAT ARE WE AFRAID OF? (Great laughter and applause.) Are we going to dread the domination of this weaker minority? I am ashamed of this talk. (Loud applause.) If we were equal in numbers I would not fear to hold my own. (Cheers.) But being five to one in numbers, I have more faith in the power of numbers, and above all I have more faith in the power of truth and in the strength of Evangelical religion than those strong Protestants who believe that the five are to go down under the domination of the one; that what they and I think the purer and better religion is to suffer at the hands of that which they and I think inferior and erroneous. (Renewed cheering.) Sir John Macdonald and his Minister of Justice, Mr. Thompson, very lately took what I may perhaps call the liberty of discussing my private affairs. They told the public at one or two of the meetings at which they have been endeavouring to amuse the people—(laughter)—the stocks in which they believed my money was invested, and they complained very seriously that I did not put some of it into those railways which are subsidized by the Treasury, and from which I might expect to get a hundred dollars for every dollar I put in. (Laughter.) I am not very sure that it was any of their business where I put my money. (Laughter.) WHAT I HAVE EARNED BY HONEST TOIL. (Loud cheers.) It was not derived as a Minister of the Crown, through testimonials from public contractors—(cheers)—or from great corporations indebted to the Treasury and asking relief, or from hangers-on of the Government who expected rewards in return. (Renewed cheering.) I did not owe it in any shape to my public position; and I don't very well see what these gentlemen had to do with my disposition of my means. (Hear, hear.) I have never asked, though I might have done so with a better grace, how they have invested their testimonials! (Laughter.) But, since they have made the charge that I lack public spirit, and am given to sordid dealings with what is my own, I may tell you and them that all I have had is not invested in the stocks they suppose. I have tried to do my share of public good with the means with which God has blessed me. I have never spoken of it before, but as both the conduct of my own affairs and my zeal for the cause of

Protestantism are impugned by these gentlemen—these gentlemen so strict and correct themselves—such zealous Protestants themselves—I may say that TWO MEMBERS OF MY FAMILY AND MYSELF HAVE \$40,000 OR MORE INVESTED IN SUBSCRIPTIONS TOWARDS ONE INSTITUTION CREATED FOR THE SPREAD OF PROTESTANT AND EVANGELICAL RELIGION, AND WHICH IS DOING GOOD WORK TO-DAY IN THE PROMOTION OF WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE THE TRUTH. (Tremendous applause.) I have never paraded our action before the public; I should not have mentioned it even now, but for these attacks. But I may ask you if we have not shown our faith by our works, and if it is likely that I would be disposed to do, or approve anything which would entail a danger of the domination of those with whose doctrines we do not agree, or a risk of injury to that Protestantism which we hold dear? (Great applause.) I have shown myself true to those principles; but I hold those men false to the principles of religious freedom who would sow discord between Protestants and Roman Catholics on this subject. (Cheers.) I freely render to my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, first, full religious freedom, and next their stipulated rights! but more, I say that being strong, we ought to be what the strong should always be—generous to the weak. (Applause.)

MEASURE FULL, HEAPED UP AND RUNNING OVER, IS THE MEASURE
TO BE GIVEN BY THE STRONG TO THE WEAK;

and by so acting we will exemplify true Christian principles; we will exemplify true Liberal principles; we will do our best for the promotion of true Christianity, and for the spread of the Gospel. Let us then remove that cause for mistrust which is provoked by the exhibition of the infernal spirit, for such I call it, which has been exhibited in several of the Tory journals, notably the *Mail*, for the last few months. (Cheers.)

LET US RESTORE THE PROPER RELATIONS

of the two great portions of the population, sought to be disturbed by that party, in the effort to make us lose sight of the real, the political questions, which have divided, and may properly divide, the people, and to run the elections upon questions of sect and creed, of prejudice and misconstruction, upon what I believed and still hope were extinguished hates and dead fanaticisms. I ask you to decide these elections in favour of men who do not seek to raise or to profit by religious hates. Put down these abominable cries! Out with these infernal fires! (Cheers.) And dis-

miss to their deserved obscurity the men who would raise themselves to political power on the ruins of the national edifice! (Great applause.) In fine, I ask you to join with me and say, what I shall say by my voice and vote to Oliver Mowat:—"Well done, good and faithful servant; faithful in few things, I will make thee ruler over many things." (Loud and prolonged applause.)

(13)

ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTH-WEST.

CAUSES OF THE REBELLION.

“ Had there been no neglect, there would have been no rebellion ; if no rebellion, no arrest ; if no arrest, no trial ; if no trial, no condemnation ; if no condemnation, no execution.”

Hon. EDWARD BLAKE closed his speech at Lindsay with a summary of some phases of the North-West question. He said :

I turn to the North-West. I wish to call your attention to the condition of that country when the present Government assumed office in the fall of 1878, and to their responsibility in this regard then and since. I think it is impossible to conceive, I am certain it is impossible to point to, a condition of things elsewhere, involving on the part of those entrusted with government, a responsibility so heavy, a duty so imperative, a necessity so absolute, for the exhibition of the great virtues of statesmanship—foresight, breadth of view, tact, justice, generosity, faithfulness, wisdom, prudence, energy, liberality, promptitude, and activity, as existed at this epoch in respect of the administration of North-West affairs. That is a grave statement. How do I make it good ? I refer you first to the

CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE TERRITORY,

and the character of its rule. The region was an enormous expanse, almost all unsettled, but, so far as it was settled, inhabited by different races. It was to be ruled for a time, *not through representative institutions*, the great British safety-valve against wrong, and security for good government, *but, of necessity, paternally, autocratically, in effect despotically*. Now, I need not tell you that on this continent, across whose wide expanse the very winds of heaven seem to waft from one ocean to the other the breath of freedom, the democratic air, it is with difficulty that men can be found long patient, or even tolerant of paternal, or autocratic, or despotic rule ; and therefore, those entrusted with that rule are *bound to exercise redoubled vigilance*, to avoid all possible cause

of complaint, to exhibit the practical blessings of their *régime*, to make their yoke easy and their burden light, at the least and lowest to beware of and to eschew neglect, delay, mismanagement, and mistakes. (Cheers.) Then there was the condition of distance. That vast territory, stretching for thousands of miles towards the north and west of the continent, was, even at its nearest practicable eastern point, over a thousand miles from Ottawa, whence it was to be governed. It was thus to be governed by letters and telegrams, through agents and subordinates. This element of

DISTANCE VERY MUCH ENHANCED THE DIFFICULTIES,

and correspondingly *enlarged the responsibilities of government*. They knew the resultant dangers, and were bound to exercise all the greater care, promptitude and energy, in order to overcome them. Then consider the magnitude of the task. What was its character? Upon the development of this enormous country Canada had, under the auspices of this Government, staked to a very great extent her national and also her financial future. They told us to hope, to expect, to believe, that under their lead we should exhibit to the world at large the spectacle of this nation in the east building itself up as a nation of the centre and the west as well. They told us to hope, to expect, to believe; they boasted vain-gloriously, as though they were taking off, rather than putting on, their armour, that, enlightened by the traditions and enriched by the experiences of the past, both in the Old World and the New, of Europe, of Australia, as well as of North America, they, with their unsurpassed gifts of statesmanship, would set an example, and give an instance, such as had never been seen in the wide world before, of rapid, wise and orderly development.

We were to have a better system of survey, a better system of settlement, a better system of emigration, a better system of territorial government, a better management of Indians, than had been witnessed elsewhere. Again, we were to have a finer system of railway development than had ever before been known. And the Government called upon the toilers of Old Canada, they called upon our neighbours to the south, they called most loudly upon the labouring masses of our British Isles, and of continental Europe, to move forward, to settle upon and develop, to their own advantage, and to ours, the great area to which they pointed of free and fertile land. "Make new homes here," they said. "Build your houses and your barns; cultivate your fields; by your labour draw forth the resources of the soil; take the benefits we offer, secure that you will enjoy these great advantages. We offer you a ready, easy, speedy, sure and certain road to advancement, progress and

prosperity, beyond what you can gain elsewhere. We offer you peace, order, right, justice, and security, under the British flag and the British system." Then, as to our financial future. We were called on by our rulers, in the furtherance of their North-West policy, to stake day by day, and year by year, very largely,

OUR FINANCIAL FUTURE.

Millions upon millions each year were being expended under their system of development. Enormous sums for Mounted Police, Indians, immigration, surveys, territorial government and administration, were being paid, as they are being paid, year after year, out of the taxes of the East. And beyond all these, scores of millions more were being paid, in part taken out of the taxes, and in part raised by mortgaging our future, involving heavy yearly interest payments, for the construction of the great railway, whose chief object, as its main justification, was the development of the North-West. Near ninety millions of capital expenditure, and about seven millions of yearly charge, may represent the drain on us for these various expenditures. *Am I not right then in saying*, that having regard both to our national future and to our financial outlook, *we were putting at stake, in reference to the North-West, more, far more, than in any other single object*, I might almost say than in all other objects combined? Now, have I not made good, even without going further, the statement that no question coming within the range of executive action can be likened, in respect of the urgent and imminent character of the duty and responsibility it imposed upon the Government, to this question of the management of the North-West? (Cheers.) But I go much further. There was yet much more. We must consider the character of the sparse, yet divided populations, their tempers, their conditions, and the previous unhappy incidents in the history of the Canadian connection with the North-West, incidents which had rendered the task of government more difficult, but also indicated the dangers, and pointed out the path of safety. The populations may be divided into, at any rate,

THREE DISTINCT CLASSES

—the Indians, the Half-breeds, and the white settlers. As to the Indian, consider his condition. For uncounted ages he and his ancestors had roamed and hunted over those vast southern prairies and northern hills and forests; had voyaged upon and fished in those great lakes and rivers; had carried on their perpetual feuds and warfare, had lived the lords of the land. In later days, it is true, there were scattered over the region, in

possession of a few posts, a few whites, servants of the Hudson's Bay Co., who did not pretend to dominate the Indian, or to interfere with his lordship, whose presence was thought a benefit, as giving the Indian a market, some employment, and some of the white man's goods; while leaving him still, in effect, monarch of all he surveyed. But after 1869 all began to change. The white man intruded in increasing numbers; the Indian found the white asserting his claim to govern the country, to control and occupy the lands. The Indian was

CALLED ON TO SURRENDER THE SOIL,

and to accept stipulated payments and limited reserves, in lieu of his former unbounded enjoyment. On these reserves he was to be pent, he was to be put under the control of white agents, officers and instructors. He saw the choicest spots, the well-known places, taken up by the whites. He saw the old things passing away. And he saw in their most odious form—he saw and suffered from some of the degradations and barbarisms of civilization. Drink and immorality infested his lodge, and vice and crime and disease, as too often happens under like circumstances, marked the earlier steps of the white man's advance over the inferior race. Alas, that it should be so! But, being so, you will see that, naturally and inevitably (the Indian being a man), there was engendered a temper of unrest, suspicion, jealousy and aversion, a condition alternating between hope and despair, a consuming desire on the part of many to re-establish the old *regime*, and at any rate to prevent the further encroachment of the whites. And, unhappily, just at this time, appeared another unfortunate factor. The sorest calamity that can befall our poor, frail humanity, overshadowed and impended upon the Indian—

THE PLAGUE OF FAMINE.

Just at this time, with miraculous rapidity, almost as in a dream, almost as in a night, *the buffalo vanished*—the buffalo which had supplied to the Indian in large measure his food, his clothing, aye, even the covering of his lodge, and his very fuel—the buffalo vanished, and vanished largely, *owing to the reckless slaughter induced by the advent of the whites*. And so starvation was added to all his other misfortunes. Such was the state of these wild and savage tribes, proud and hereditary warriors, who thought themselves abased, humbled, despoiled, degraded, demoralized, defiled, starved, and doomed to destruction by the white. Then, let me ask you whether the management of the Indian did not imperatively demand, in the interests of

justice and humanity, and also in the interests of true policy, the highest measure of vigilance, promptness, prudence, foresight, and liberality, on the part of the rulers of Canada? (Loud applause.) *Did not it imperatively demand that the very best men, the men best suited for the task, and these alone, should be chosen to conduct Indian affairs,* to act as intermediaries, as Indian superintendents, agents, farm instructors, to do the business to be done with the Indians? (Cheers.) Was that a place for political hacks—for ignorant men, for arbitrary men, for unsuitable men, for men not adequate to the delicate and difficult duty of dealing with an inferior and savage, but still a jealous and high-strung, and also a suspicious and hostile people? (Cheers.) Not so! (Loud applause.) I say it was the prime and imperative, the absolute, duty of the Government to take into consideration nothing but the question,

“WHO IS THE BEST MAN?”

in making the Indian appointments. (Renewed applause.) And, having made them, *it was their duty to watch them constantly,* and to deal with failure, unfitness, neglect, unfaithfulness, immorality, arbitrary conduct, with promptness and firmness. Does this describe their conduct? No! You have heard the voice of those best qualified to speak raised a hundred times in condemnation, because the conduct of the Government was so far removed from this. (Cheers.) Now, I cannot pause longer on this element. I turn to the next element of the population—

THE HALF-BREEDS.

By the common consent of every man in that region whose experience and ability render his opinion valuable, it was of the last consequence that the Government should, in view of the difficulties to be encountered in managing the Indians, keep the Half-breed population on the side of Canada—on the side of the Government. Why? Because the Half-breed having in him a strain of Indian blood, there was thus a tie of friendship and kinship and confidence between him and the Indian—an invaluable bond. He had also an influence over the Indian, due to his strain of white blood, and to his acquisition of some portion of our civilization and education, and to his more or less intimate connection with the white. So the Half-breed was the means sent to us, as it seemed, in the order of Providence, by which we might hope most peacefully, with the least chance of disturbance, with the least disadvantage, with the minimum of risk and loss which the situation would admit, to intervene between the Indian

and ourselves, to effect the necessarily difficult and painful transition from the old order of things to the new, to lead the Indian most successfully into the path of submission to his destiny, and to accomplish the tranquil settlement of the North-West. *Therefore it was an object of the highest policy to secure to Canada the friendship, the confidence, the power, and the influence of the Half-breed.* (Cheers.) Now, God forbid that I should for an instant put the claims of justice and equity below those of policy and expediency. I do not do so. Justice comes first in importance. (Cheers.) I have mentioned policy first only in order of time, from the natural sequence of thought in passing from the Indian to the Half-breed problem; but I say that second only to the imperative claims of justice and equity were the claims of policy and expediency in this regard. (Cheers.) And, mark you, it was not only a question whether by wise management we should secure the benefit of this influence for good, but there was the danger,

THE PRESSING DANGER,

that by mismanagement we should turn the possible power for good into a power for evil. Because if the Half-breed were to be set against instead of on our side, if his sympathies were to be opposed to instead of in favour of Canada, that influence and control which he had over the Indian would probably be used to create difficulty and to arouse hostility, and this, unhappily, with much greater ease than it could be used in the promotion of peace and friendship; for, as I have shown you, the natural impulse of the Indian was towards hate, and resistance, and war, rather than towards love, and submission, and peace; *and so the task of the agitator would be easier than that of the tranquilizer.* I have, then, established that the obvious and imperative duty of the Government with reference to the Half-breeds was, on grounds of the highest expediency and policy, apart from equity and justice, to be liberal and generous, prompt and vigilant, conciliatory and active, and so to win them to our side. (Loud cheers.) Well, now, I come to the question of

THE CLAIMS OF THE HALF-BREEDS.

I cannot even touch them all; I will deal briefly with one only. There are other and very serious matters of complaint besides. You know that there is a dark blot upon Canadian North-West history, of earlier date than the deep stain of 1885. You know that there was a rising in the North-West in 1869, largely due to the rash and precipitate steps which were taken by the then Government in their surveys of the territory without proper intimation to the

inhabitants as to their future, and in their despatch of a Government to take possession of the land and to rule over the people, without the proper precautions of previous explanations and understandings and assurances as to the *régime* which was to be established, and the security thereunder for the possessions and liberties of the inhabitants. The rising was followed by a wise though late effort to conciliate the people, and to do what should have been done before. A negotiation took place between Sir John Macdonald's Government and the inhabitants, ending in an arrangement which was ratified by Parliament at the instance of that Government. Among their demands in this negotiation a claim was set up by the Half-breeds based upon this ground: They said, the British and the Canadian people have always recognized in the Indians a certain equitable claim, as lords of the territory of which the whites were about to take possession, to consideration, a claim which has resulted in the Indian treaties. We, they said, are of Indian blood, and along with the Indians enjoy and possess the territory. As such, we claim

A RIGHT TO CONSIDERATION,

in respect of the region at large, apart from the claims of some of us to our individual holdings, which are to be, and which were, dealt with independently. Now, this Half-breed claim, known as the HALF-BREED CLAIM FOR THE EXTINGUISHMENT OF THE INDIAN TITLE, was conceded by the Government of Canada; it was conceded by the Parliament of Canada; it formed one of the bases in the settlement of the North-West, and a large area of land was set apart to be distributed amongst these Half-breeds by means of scrip in satisfaction of that claim. At that time we were dealing only with that part of the territory embraced within the original limits of Manitoba. No Half-breeds outside of these limits were being dealt with; there had been no late intrusion of the whites on them; they were, as were the Indians of those parts, as yet undisturbed; their condition was practically unchanged at the moment; they took no part in the rising; nor were they concerned in the settlement. It was only the east of the territory that was under disposition. But I need not point out to you that their claim, when the occasion should arise, was precisely the same as that of their brethren in the east. As I said when this rebellion broke out, *justice is the same on the banks of the Saskatchewan and the Qu'Appelle as on the banks of the Red River and the Assiniboine*—(cheers)—and it was impossible, it was utterly impossible, to deny to the Half-breed in the rest of the territory the recognition of a right similar to that which had been conceded to his brother in the east. It was

founded on the same principle precisely ; and, even had it been disputable once, it had ceased to be disputable in the west once it had been yielded in the east. It was, or ought to have been,

IN PRINCIPLE A SETTLED QUESTION.

How could we deny to a part what we had granted to the rest? (Cheers.) For a time, while their condition remained unchanged, the claim was not asserted by the western Half-breeds ; but about 1878, the white man having begun to intrude upon the western portion of the territory, and the buffalo having largely diminished, the conditions changed. At once starvation, and the white intruder, stared the western Half-breeds in the face. They grew anxious as to their future, even as to their existence ; they saw that they must make up their minds to a new order of things, and they desired the recognition of their rights in the soil, and of their right to live. They looked to the claims and concessions to their brethren in the east. They asserted the same rights. They called for the same concessions And I think you will agree with me that

THEY HAD JUSTICE AND REASON ON THEIR SIDE.

(Cheers.) Some of them petitioned the lately established North-West Council for redress.

The North-West Council, by resolution, strongly urged that the matter should receive the early and earnest attention of the Government ; and represented that in view of the Manitoba grants there would undoubtedly be general dissatisfaction among the Half-breeds of the Territories unless they received some like consideration ; and they recommended grants with certain conditions to prevent improvident alienation, conditions which they thought would be beneficial to the Half-breeds.

These documents reached Ottawa in the fall of 1878, and it devolved on Sir John Macdonald to take up the question. I am heartily glad to be able to say that

HIS EARLIER COURSE

should receive your approval. He acted promptly and judiciously. He obtained the report of his chief officer, Col. Dennis. That officer reported that the claims should be disposed of with the least possible delay ; that some uneasiness was felt by the Half-breeds in consequence of no steps having been already taken towards recognition of their demands ; that they had a claim to favourable consideration ; that to satisfy them would place the whole of that element in sympathy with the Government in dealing with the

plain tribes of Indians, and that thus we would attract to our side a moral power which, in the critical relations of the various tribes of Indians towards each other and towards the Government, would prove of the greatest value to the Dominion.

Col. Dennis also reported that the state of affairs in relation to the Indians and Half-breeds called for the serious consideration of the Government in view of additional probable complications owing to the presence of Indian refugees from the States; and he added that further measures should be adopted to cultivate and maintain relations with the Indians and Half-breeds calculated to attach them to us, and to convince them that the Government was desirous of fulfilling its obligations to them with the utmost good faith. He then proposed a plan for the issue of non-negotiable scrip to the Half-breeds, and for considerable aids of various kinds; and he recommended that a plan should be devised with a view to legislation during the coming session.

The next step taken by the Government was also prompt and judicious. They consulted great dignitaries of the Territory. The replies were in the same sense. The Archbishop's answer showed that the Half-breeds had a

CLAIM TO FAVOURABLE CONSIDERATION ;

that great uneasiness was felt by them in consequence of no steps having been yet taken in their behalf; that a liberal policy on the part of the Government would attract to its side a moral and physical power which, in the critical relations of the various Indian tribes towards each other and towards the Government, would prove of the greatest value to the Dominion; that on the other hand, *the Half-breed element, if dissatisfied would become a standing menace to peace and prosperity*; that the state of affairs touching the Indians and Half-breeds called for the serious consideration of the Government; that measures should be adopted to cultivate relations with the Half-breeds calculated to attach them to us; that the formidable Indian question had not yet arisen amongst us, owing largely to the influence of the Half-breeds; that the disappearance of the buffalo, and the extension of settlement in the Indian country, were preparing difficulties which might, he hoped, be avoided, but which would otherwise involve such terrible and expensive results that it was a duty to do everything possible to prevent such misfortune; that the result would depend in a great measure on the treatment of the Half-breeds. that, friendly disposed, they would mightily contribute to the maintenance of peace, while, dissatisfied, they might render settlement difficult, or almost impossible. He added that

THE HALF-BREEDS WERE A HIGHLY SENSITIVE RACE,

keenly resenting injury or insult. He pointed out the importance of making appointments of the very best character, and in some cases of Half-breeds; he suggested a scheme of settlement embracing conditions as to the non-alienability of the grants; and he concluded by declaring that it was desirable that the Half-breed question should be decided without any further delay; that the required legislation should be passed at the coming session; and that the difficulties would no doubt increase with delay.

Now, at that time, had the advice of early settlement been taken, it might, perhaps, have been possible to apply, in principle, such conditions as were proposed, or some restrictions; it might have been possible, in the then more compliant and better temper of the Half-breeds, before they were stung to exasperation by long neglect, to have dealt with them in that way, and to have preserved and secured their good-will; but the absolutely essential conditions for the accomplishment of this were promptness, diligence, and tact. Every month's delay increased the difficulty. All then pointed to the need of speed; and the Government seemed to realize, for a moment, this vital fact. They decided to settle the claim; they decided to settle it at once; they looked into their powers; they found they had not, under the law, power to settle it executively; and so they took their fourth step.

They came down to Parliament in the Session of 1879, and asked us to clothe them with.

FULL POWER AND AUTHORITY

to settle this claim. Parliament gave them that authority in the words they chose; gave them full power to make such grants of land and on such conditions as they thought expedient to the Half-breeds of the Territories, in satisfaction of their claim, for the extinguishment of the Indian title. That Act was assented to on the 17th of May, 1879. And this closes the first period of their action.

I have shown you that the claim was pressed on them, that they investigated it, that they obtained reports on it; that its justice, its urgency, its importance were demonstrated; that they decided that it should be settled, that they determined to settle it executively themselves; that they asked Parliament to invest them with full power, and so to clothe them with full responsibility for its settlement, that Parliament did so; and thus at the prorogation of 1879 I leave them.

And here, Mr. Chairman, my

WORDS OF COMMENDATION MUST END,

and my words of condemnation must begin. Sir, from that hour to which I have brought you, to wit, from that 17th day of May, 1879, *all through* 1879, 1880, '81, '82, '83, '84, *and into the winter of 1885, the Government took not one single step, did not one single act, made not one single move towards the settlement of that claim.* (Cheers.) It stood, so far as they were concerned, in the winter of 1885 as it stood in the spring of 1879. (Cheers.) And I maintain that, if I had not one word more to say, I have by these words made a strong, a conclusive case for the condemnation of the Government. (Great applause.) I ask you how it is possible to defend or excuse men who, having obtained this power and undertaken these duties, did, during these many long years, literally, absolutely, emphatically nothing at all towards the use of that power and the discharge of that duty? (Cheers.) *Do you suppose it was because the people did not clamour?* Do you suppose it was because they after a while gave up disheartened, thinking that their voices could not reach Ottawa and that they must perforce cease their requests for justice? That would, were it the fact, be a poor excuse indeed by powerful guardians for the long neglect of poor and weak and distant wards! It would be a poor excuse by judges and rulers for the delay, which is the denial of justice! (Cheers.) But

EVEN THAT POOR EXCUSE IS WANTING !

the people did not cease! they did not for years lose heart and hope! they petitioned still, they assembled still, they appealed still, they applied to the local magnates, they wrote, they sent deputations, they did all that men could do to obtain their rights.

Local authorities added the weight of their words; *the white settlers joined in the demand*; the North-West Council spoke once and again, and pressed the question as demanding the early and earnest attention of the Government.

The time, if there ever were a time, for conditions of non-alienation, passed away; the state of things changed, the discontent grew, the demand became fixed and formulated for like treatment as the Half-breeds of Manitoba, and its concession in this form was pressed on the Government by everyone in the North-West, including the Council. But all in vain! The Government was deaf; the Government was blind; the Government was dumb; indeed for all they did in this matter the Government might as well have been dead! Nay better! for had they been dead, I do not believe another baker's dozen of Tories could have been found to succeed them who would have been as deaf, and dumb, and blind, and dead as

they; (cheers and laughter) and Canada might have been saved the blow, the dreadful blow, which they caused, if they did not actually inflict upon their country! (Cheers.)

At length, in June 1884, *after five years of total, of absolute inaction* in this pressing matter, occurred an event so marked that it might have made the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, the blind to see, nay, might almost have waked the dead—(applause)—for then it happened that these poor people, despairing at last of reaching otherwise the ears of their rulers at Ottawa, sent a deputation on foot to tramp the prairies, cross the rivers, and penetrate the forests, 700 long miles into Montana, to find, and to counsel with their old chief and leader, Louis Riel. They reached him; they invited his help; he agreed to return in their company, to lead his people in an agitation for the rights which they had so long asked in vain; he returned on this demand, on this errand, in these relations to his kinsmen; and he was triumphantly and enthusiastically received by a large assembly of the half-breeds on the banks of the Saskatchewan; and all these ominous and portentous facts were known to the Government. (Cheers.) Now what at this juncture was the relation of Louis Riel to the disturbed populations of the North-West? That is a most important question to be answered, when you are measuring the situation and awarding its due responsibility to the Government. For I ask you, having answered that question, to decide, as I believe you will unhesitatingly decide, I ask not you Liberals only, but the most compassionate, the most faithful Tory, the blindest, the most party ridden Tory here, to decide—(even if he can find, what I cannot find, in the loving kindness of his nature, in the softness of his heart, some, I will not say justification, I will not say excuse, but some palliation for that five long years of inaction)—yet I ask you all, with absolute confidence, to agree with me, that *for the inaction after June, 1884, there is, under heaven, no palliation whatever*. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) What was the relation of Riel to those amongst whom he came? I will not give you my own comparisons—I will give you those of the First Minister himself, used in reply to me in Parliament (Cheers.)

He said that Riel was

THE EL MAHDI OF THE METIS;

the El Mahd—you know him—the Arabian priest, and prophet, and usurping chief, who excited in the breasts of the wild tribes of the desert such a convinced belief in his supernatural powers, such a devoted and fanatic affection to his person, such a desperate fidelity to his cause, that at his bidding, ill-armed and undisciplined as they were, they flung their naked bodies in

ferocious fight against the better drilled and more numerous forces of their lawful sovereign, the Khedive; nay, they hurled those naked bodies once and again against the serried ranks of the British battalions; and boldly encountered at once all the old British valour, and all the modern dreadful appliances of war; and the sands of Africa were wet with brave English blood, and English wives and mothers wept bitter tears, for the deeds done, under these influences, by the wild followers of El Mahdi! (Cheers.) He said that Riel was the LA ROCHEJACQUELEIN of the Metis—La Rochejacquelien, the young French noble, who, when all France almost beside had submitted to the Republic, raised again the white flag of the legitimate monarchy, roused the peaceful peasantry of remote La Vendee, led them in successful attack against strong places held by the forces of the Republic, and by virtue of the spirit he infused, the confidence they reposed, the affection and fealty they bore towards their feudal chief, kept at bay for a while the great armies of the State (Cheers.) He said he was THE CHARLES STUART, the Pretender, the leader of the lost cause of the Half-breeds! “Bonnie Prince Charlie, the King o’ the Hieland hearts,” who, after the lowlands of Scotland, after all England, after all Ireland, had submitted to the new rule, yet raised the clans; marched into Edinburgh; held court at Holyrood; made a descent on England itself; and, when pressed back into the North, fought with his irregular and ill-equipped liegemen in unequal, but obstinate and glorious, and sometimes successful conflict with the disciplined troops of the new dynasty! (Cheers.) The Stuart, who found and proved for the hundredth time the stern valour and the enthusiastic love of his Highland followers—who found and proved it, not only in the fleeting hour of victory, but in the dark season of distress; when, with broken fortunes, and a lost cause, with thirty thousand pounds offered for his head, and death assigned as the penalty for his harbourer, he was safely guarded, and loved, and cherished, and sheltered by his clansmen in the caves and glens and bothies of the Highlands, as safe as if he had been in command in the centre of a British square! (Loud cheers.) Yes! they scorned the base reward, they contemned the dreadful penalty; they kept him safe, and at length helped him to escape to other climes, to wait for the better days that never came. (Loud cheers.)

SUCH WERE THE MEN

to whom the First Minister compared Riel, in his relation to the Metis. And, such being his relation, I ask you was not his coming an ominous and portentous event? (Loud cheers.) He came, with all that power and influence over that ill-educated, half-

civilized, impulsive, yet proud and sensitive people, living their lonely lives in that far land; he came amongst them at their request, he who had led the Half-breeds of the east in '69, and had achieved for them a treaty and the recognition of their rights; he came to lead his kinsmen of the west in the path by which they were, as they hoped, to obtain their rights as well! Had the Government been diligent before, they should have been roused by this to further zeal! *But he came after five years of absolute lethargy on the part of the Government*, when they knew that they had not been diligent, and when, therefore, they had a double duty to repair, in the time God gave them still, the consequences of their sloth! (Cheers.) Surely, surely, such a coming should have made the deaf to hear, the blind to see, the dumb to speak; surely it might have almost waked the dead! (Loud cheers.) But, you may say to me, why should there be alarm? These were, after all, but a feeble folk; there were in the whole of that vast territory, scattered over its thousands of miles, less than five thousand of them, men, women, and children from the little infant in arms to the old grandfather tottering towards his grave—they were but a feeble folk—why should the Government be alarmed? That again is a poor excuse—the voice of conscience should have alarmed them. The record of duty neglected, of justice denied, should have shamed them into action. (Cheers.) Fear should not have been the only impulse towards the performance of their duty. But remember, though the Half-breeds were few, the settlers also were few and unprotected; and even 4 or 5,000 of such a population as the Half-breeds could inflict much damage. And remember too that

THEY WERE NOT ALONE.

There were also their Indian kinsmen. (Hear, hear.) These numbered many thousands; they were trained warriors, and unhappily their condition was largely that of discontent, jealousy, hostility, semi-starvation and desperation. They would have been more than human if they had not felt hostile to us, though well and wisely managed and—I am sorry to say—they were not managed well or wisely. (Loud cheers.) I need not describe their condition in my own words. LET ME STATE IT IN THE WORDS OF THE PRIME MINISTER, when we charged him with so conducting affairs as to provoke dissatisfaction. He said speaking sometimes of the Indians and sometimes of the Metis, whom he seemed to confound together, that we had no right to expect that we would be so successful in governing the country in peace and quiet as we had been; that the country was occupied by savages or semi-savages, by men then driven to desperation, through the

disappearance of the buffalo ; that hungry men were desperate, starving men were ready to grasp at anything, ready to charge those in power with being the cause of their starvation ; that when Louis Riel was sent for that summer, he was sent for by these poor people, suffering from hunger ; and that Louis Riel listened too readily to the invitation of the poor starving people, the Metis in the neighbourhood of Duck Lake. Thus you will see he knew the condition, and that there was great danger of an Indian rising ; indeed there had been armed resistance to the authorities and open insubordination during the season ; and it was obvious that peril was in the air. But if a rising was to be apprehended, even under good government, I leave you to imagine what the chances were under such a government as that which ruled at Ottawa. (Cheers.) However, good government or bad government, the danger was there before Riel appeared. How greatly that danger was increased by his appearance, you can judge. (Cheers.) Thus you will see that the question was not one simply of a Half-breed rising ; it was one of a Half-breed and an Indian rising ; and no graver, no more alarming conjuncture can be conceived.

Surely *then*, at any rate, the Government should have acted ! (Cheers.)

There were in the Territories that summer several Ministers, among them Sir Hector Langevin, who met the Half-breeds at Qu'Appelle, received the complaint, agreed in its reasonableness, and promised the attention of his colleagues. He was there at the request of Sir John Macdonald, to spy out the grievances. This one he learned, but he forgot the lesson ; no record is to be found of his pressing the matter at Ottawa, and nothing was done. (Cheers.)

Mr. Burgess, the Deputy Minister of the Interior, was there that summer ; he knew of the grievances ; but nothing was done.

Other Ministers were there ; but nothing was done.

IT WAS NOT FOR WANT OF WARNING.

The North-West Council felt that the danger was imminent and in July passed a resolution, that it recognised absolutely the justice of the claims of the Metis, so far as concerned the grants of land which they demanded.

The resolution was telegraphed to Sir John Macdonald, as first Minister, and also acting Minister of the Interior.

Sir John telegraphed in reply, that the Minister of the Interior on his return from Europe, "would take into his serious consideration" (loud laughter), the questions relating to the Half-breeds ; and he did nothing at all.

The Minister of the Interior was in England, he was there on important business—on business of the State, deeply affecting the public welfare—he was there—he was there—*getting knighted*. (Roars of laughter.) He returned later, honoured by his Sovereign, who honoured Canada in his person; decorated for his great public services; standing, if that were possible, a step higher in the general estimation; ready, we may presume, at last to dispose of the public business which he was paid and sworn to settle.

Whether he considered this matter at all, whether he considered it seriously, I cannot tell—but this I know that unhappily nothing was done; it is still the same sad and incomprehensible story of absolute inaction. (Cheers.)

No one did anything. Was it for lack of still more pressure? No. Bishop Grandin wrote a letter to Sir H. Langevin, pointing out the grievances, the disturbed condition, the danger of delay, the importance of action, and imploring redress.

He might as well have implored the dead! (Cheers.) Bishop Grandin wrote a like letter to Sir John Macdonald, in still greater detail—he might as well have implored the dead! (Renewed cheers.)

These letters are so damaging, that though repeatedly called for, and sometimes promised, the Government has not dared to bring them down, and lay them before you.

They are in the mass of concealed and suppressed papers, which these criminals hold in the public vaults, dreading the condemnation which their production would ensure! (Cheers.)

I have made many efforts to get you these papers; I have laboured long and hard to secure for you the knowledge which is your due; but

ONLY THE CORNER OF THE VEIL HAS BEEN LIFTED;

only a fraction of the mass of incriminating papers has been dragged out of their reluctant hands; the rest they hold; and the task of obtaining them has, I believe, passed out of my hands. It has fallen into yours; you must perform it at the polls. (Cheers.) Send men to Parliament who will force the production of these further materials for a judgment, and then, and not until then, will you obtain them. (Loud cheers.)

There were letters and telegrams from various important quarters; there were newspaper accounts too. But there were other warnings. There were GREAT MEETINGS at various points, some of Metis, and some of whites, speeches were made, resolutions were passed, the agitation increased, redress of the grievances, recognition of the claims was loudly called for. There were PRIVATE MEETINGS too,

more dangerous than the public ones—the whole district was in an obviously feverish and excited state. No man knew what was going to happen, or how soon; every man thought that the Government should act at once and redress the grievance.

But nothing was done. (Cheers.) Yet I do not tell you that the Government was stone deaf, or quite blind, or wholly dumb. There did penetrate those dull ears some faint echo of the clamours rising on the banks of the Saskatchewan! There did pierce those dim eyes some flickering glimmer of the lurid light reflected from the waters of that mighty stream! There did come at last some confused and imperfect utterance, from those long-sealed lips! But, alas, the ears did not hear aright, the eyes did not see true, and the lips spake not the fitting words! (Cheers.)

Mr. Chairman, there are two great and fundamental duties of Governments, a primary and a secondary duty.

The primary duty, the most blessed and happy, the most God-like duty, that which nearest approaches, at a distance, however infinite and awful, the divine attributes, is the duty of faithfully doing full justice, of

PROMPTLY REDRESSING ALL GRIEVANCES,

of dealing in a broad and generous and merciful and liberal spirit with the claims of the poor and weak and humble and distressed. (Cheers.)

The secondary duty, a stern and painful duty, a duty which in these later and happier days seldom, thank God, or never, arises, *unless the first has been shamefully neglected*, is, if unhappily the public peace be broken, the public order disturbed, the public authority defied, firmly and effectually to restore peace, to re-establish order, to vindicate authority.

There would have been no need in the North-West for the performance of that duty but for the shameful neglect of our rulers as to the other. (Cheers.) But they did apprehend danger—they did fear a rising—they did move, though in a bungling and foolish way, towards the discharge of the duty of suppression.

WHAT WAS THEIR FIRST SIGN OF LIFE.

was their first sign of life?

In July they sent Col. Houghton to the Saskatchewan to collect the arms of the old volunteer companies, to remove them from the district, and to put them in a place of safety. Why? For fear they might be seized by insurgents, and the muzzles might be pointed against the wrong breasts.

Col. Houghton reported to Sir A. Caron on the danger of a ris-

ing, the condition of discontent and agitation, the need of prompt measures of redress. His report is suppressed—they dare not bring it down; but the fact is as I have stated. Yet nothing towards redress was done! And this other sign of life they gave:—They obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company the post of Carlton, which was within "striking distance," as soldiers say, of the centre of the agitation; and this post they occupied with Mounted Police, so as to be ready to strike the blow, and to suppress the insurrection, when it should come. Thus I show you that they—even they—had grasped the idea of danger and were preparing for the resort to force.

But while they took these steps, ill-advised and inadequate as they were, in the discharge of their duty to restore the peace by arms, they were yet blind and deaf and dumb as to the evidences of that first and highest duty of preserving the peace by doing justice and dispensing equity, removing grievance and redressing wrong; and so taking away the weapons of the agitator, the reasons for revolt. They made ready to suppress, they did nothing to prevent! (Cheers.) And so all through June, July, August, September, October, November, December, and into January; all through those long months of summer, fall, winter—for now the crisis nears, now we come to count by months, not years—all through those invaluable months still allowed them for redress, they did in this regard literally and absolutely nothing. (Renewed applause.) Now was the accepted time, now was the eleventh hour, still the lamp held out to burn; the time was passing, the lamp was flickering; all called for action but nothing was done! (Cheers.) There they reclined in their luxurious couches, there they transacted their political intrigues, there they concocted their plans for enjoyment of the sweets of office and the partition of the public treasure and estate, but they were wholly indifferent to the call of duty.

They remind me of Tennyson's description of the old gods—they seemed

"to live and lie reclined

On the hills like gods together, careless of mankind;
For they lie beside their nectar, and the bolts are hurled
Far below them in the valleys, and the clouds are lightly curled
Round their golden houses, girdled with the gleaming world;
Where they smile in secret, looking over wasted lands,
Clanging fights, and flaming towns, and sinking ships, and praying hands.
But they smile, they find a music centred in a doleful song
Steaming up, a lamentation and an ancient tale of wrong,
Like a tale of little meaning, though the words are strong;
Chaunted from an ill-used race of men that cleave the soil,
Store the seed and reap the harvest with enduring toil;
Till they perish and they suffer."

(Applause.) Such seemed to be the demeanour of the Government.

(Renewed applause.) Through all these long months the agitation grew, and the remonstrances doubtless increased, and at length—at length—the Ministers awoke. They woke in January, they woke late, they woke but for an instant; and then they took a step—a step on which they now rely for defence. No step then taken could atone for their previous neglect. (Cheers.)

But

WHAT WAS THIS FAMOUS STEP?

At the very end of January, 1885, they decided that, with a view to settle these claims equitably, three men should be appointed to ascertain the number of the Half-breeds. (Laughter.) That was all! No recognition of their rights; still less any statement of the extent or principle of settlement; still less any machinery for effectuating a settlement! Only a numbering of the people! (Laughter.) Whether few or many, their rights were, the same; nor was the number of any consequence to the settlement. (Cheers.) But, at any rate, this was all! And, having made the order, they slept again. (Cheers and laughter.) They did not wake even long enough to put the abortive order into execution—THEY SLEPT AGAIN. Whether it was the sleep of the just, judge ye! (Cheers.) And so the time passed, and the sands ran out of the glass—so slipped away valuable days and weeks—for the period of grace was now shortened, and only days and weeks remained—so slipped away the short remaining time, unused and wasted, till the day of grace had passed, till the people rose, till blood was spilt, till Duck Lake fight was fought! (Cheers.) Yes, at length revolt raised its horrid head, and the sounds of the firing, and the groans of the wounded, and the laments over the dead, and the cry of alarm from the North-West reached the ears of the Ministers; and they woke again! (Cheers.) Waked again, they took another step. In the end of March they made what they declared for a few days was a recognition of the claims, and they appointed commissioners to settle them on the basis they fixed. *Then for the first time, did they propound a solution; then, after the rising.* But, even then, can you believe it, so ignorant, or dull, or obstinate were they, that their so called settlement

WAS NO SETTLEMENT AT ALL;

that, for a large number of the cases, it allowed in truth nothing at all for this claim! (Cheers.) I need not go into details to prove this astounding statement. It is admitted. Their commissioners went in hot haste to Winnipeg, saw the chief men, looked into the matter, and telegraphed and wrote to the Government demonstrating this amazing fact, and asking further powers. And the Minister, on

6th April, telegraphed agreeing to the change—*then, and then for the first time, agreeing to do justice.* (Loud applause.) Now, indeed, they acted with energy; the Government notified every postmaster, every telegraph operator, every station agent, every Government official, every missionary, every one they could think of, that the Commission was going to work; they proclaimed far and wide the coming, at long and at last, of the messengers of the gospel of peace, on their errand of mercy and of justice. (Cheers.) They ordered the commissioners not to stand on forms or ceremonies. "If you meet a Half-breed on the trail," said they, "stop him; set up at once the staff of justice; open your court forthwith; ask him whether he has a grievance; if it comes within your powers, decide it at once, and satisfy him; if it is beyond your powers, take his evidence, send it down to us, and tell him he will be well treated."

WHY ALL THIS HASTE?

Why this spasm of energy, of liberality, of beneficence? Why? Ladies and gentlemen, it was because there were Half-breeds scattered all over the North-West, because all were kinsmen of those who had risen, because many had grievances of their own, because the trails led to Batoche, and the Half-breeds knew the trails! (Cheers.) Government realized the danger! It was not from the few men who had actually risen; they could not, standing alone, cause a moment's serious anxiety. It was from their kinsmen and fellow-Metis all over the North-West, and from the Indian tribes; it was from a general North-West rising, that the danger was to be feared. That danger was pressing, as pressing as the grievances were widespread; and this it was they were averting by the vigorous action of the Commission. (Cheers.) In the course of a very few weeks it was found that there were about two thousand of this class of claims, beside many in regions unvisited, and apart from all the other grievances. That is a great number—

TWO THOUSAND SEPARATE CASES

of long-standing grievance unredressed. But it is greater even relatively than absolutely; for there were less than five thousand souls of that population, so *that nearly half the whole population—men, women and children—laboured under this sense of personal wrong and injustice.* Just suppose that over two-fifths of the people of Ontario had long-standing personal claims neglected and ignored for years by Mr. Mowat's Government, and tell me whether you think there would not be amongst our people an agitation and discontent

which would ensure redress ! (Loud cheers.) But some apologists for the Government say :

“ OH, BUT THE GRIEVANCE DID NOT CAUSE THE REBELLION.”

If that were so, it does not lessen the guilt of the Government. (Cheers.) Had the people been patient still, had they not been led into the unfortunate step of rising, yet the Government would have been guilty of that neglect, delay, and mismanagement which I have this night charged and proved against them! *It is not the Half-breed rising that makes the Government guilty, it is their own misconduct.* (Cheers.) But the excuse is false. These apologists say this grievance did not cause the rising, because only 200 or 300 rose, and out of these only a few had claims of this particular nature. The argument is absurd. It was not the only grievance; there were others, it was one of several. (Cheers.) *But did you ever hear or read of a rising which was confined to those who had in their own individual cases suffered from grievance?* No! The brothers, the fathers, the sons, the kinsmen rise, the neighbours, the friends, the sympathisers rise! (Cheers.) Man sympathises with his fellow man, and this, even when it leads to his joining in the fight for his fellow's rights, is not a low or base characteristic of humanity! (Cheers.) But again, do you suppose the insurgents and their leader did not count when they rose on being joined by the others? They did, and there was great danger of it too! And this assurance and this danger was due to the fact that there was a large body of aggrieved Half-breeds to appeal to. (Loud cheering.) But the Government have lately published Half-breed declarations which prove the case. They have this long time been engaged in getting whitewashing papers from the Half-breeds; they have demeaned themselves by sending their powerful agents to these poor people, some wounded in battle, some imprisoned under the law, some exiles from their country, all ruined, starving, and despairing, dreading they know not what further horrors, uncertain of their future, doubtful of amnesty, doubtful of their poor holdings, absolutely dependent on the good-will of the Government, feeling it vital to gain that good-will, and taught that the easiest road to it was to say what the Government wished should be said as to the rebellion; they have sent their agents to get papers from these poor Half-breeds. (Cheers.) I do not attach the greatest weight to acquittals of the Government, to condemnations of Riel, to excuses for themselves put forth by the Half-breeds on this pressure, and at this instance; at any rate so far as their sentiments are such as their rulers require at their hands. (Cheers.)

But I do say that when, even in statements so obtained and so put forward, you find

PROOFS OF THE GUILT OF GOVERNMENT,

that evidence is of the highest value. (Loud cheers.) And I find that in a fresh batch of declarations, published by the *Mail*, at the instance of Government the other day, and said to come from twenty-four of the principal insurgents, *about one half of them declare that this grievance of the neglect to make the grants for extinguishment of the Indian title was their ground for rising*; extinguishment of the Indian title was their ground for rising; not that all of them had personal claims; but this wrong to their people was their ground. (Cheers.) But I need not waste time in arguing it. I can prove it out of the adversary's mouth. Mr. White, the Minister of the Interior, before he saw the fatal effect of his statement, in his futile efforts to rebut the charge of delay, *declared on several platforms that the action of the Government, in ordering the numbering of the Half-breeds, had actually precipitated the rebellion*. So far from their delay having caused it, their action hastened it. How? Because, said he, Louis Riel, when he heard that at last the Government was about to take steps towards redress, raised the people some weeks before he had intended, knowing that if, even at that twelfth hour, the people should learn that the Government was really moving towards redress, they would refuse to rise, he would lose his power to move them, his game would be spoiled. And, that being so; it being so, that, even then, those hearts so sick with hope deferred, those spirits so angered by neglect and delay, those wills so controlled and excited by the influence of Riel, would all be calmed and soothed by the news, the joyful news, of a step towards justice—it being so, that this joyful news would even then have prevented a rising, I ask you how can the Government escape condemnation for having left unhealed for years this festering sore, for having delayed for years that redress, which they now admit would have rendered impossible a rising, which “would have spoiled the game?” (Loud and prolonged applause.) If by action even then, known to the people, if by doing, even then, the justice which a little later they were compelled to grant, the rising would have become impossible, the staff of the agitator would have broken in his hands, his power for evil would have ceased

HOW SHALL THE MINISTERS ESCAPE

the judgment of an indignant people for their long months and years of absolute inaction? (Great cheering.) I have

told these men to their faces on the floors of Parliament that I hold them responsible before God and man for every dollar of the five millions of our lavished treasure; for every drop of blood shed, whether on the field or on the scaffold; for every pang of suffering, sorrow, or anxiety borne by the lone settler in the North-West, his wife, and children, or by us his kinsmen in the east; for the stain on the fair name of Canada, tarnished by two rebellions within fifteen years, both due to misgovernment; for the check to the prosperity of Canada, injured, deeply injured, by the North-West troubles! (Thunders of applause.) For all this I hold them responsible, and ask you to condemn them by your votes! (Renewed applause.) Well, the rebellion broke out; and no man could tell how far the flame might spread, or what might be the end. The duty of public men then was to take steps to restore order, and provide security. That duty devolved on the Government whose neglect had caused the rising; but none the less was it the part of the Opposition to assist, to aid them by our counsel, to strengthen their hands in the task, to spur them forward in the work; and we performed our part. (Cheers.) We gave them all the money, and munitions, and men they asked for; we suspended, at their request, wholesome rules, though the need resulted from their neglect; we did all that men could do to promote the restoration of peace, even by the stern means of war. (Renewed cheers.) We were charged, nevertheless, most unjustly and ungenerously charged, with creating and fostering and sympathizing with the rebellion. It was the old game of the robber, running down the street, crying out "stop thief." (Cheers and laughter.) Why, they would almost persuade you that the volunteer force was a Tory institution, not manned or favoured by the Reformers! (Cheers.) And indeed they did their best, by the appointments of commanding officers and otherwise, to use the force and the war to the profit of the Tories. (Cheers.) But, sir, the Reformers have always sympathized with the volunteers; our effort has been to secure greater consideration for the rank and file; we felt for them, we cheered them, we encouraged them, we did all men could do to lessen the toils and dangers of our brave defenders. (Loud cheers.) And we sympathized with them all the more because we felt that they, whose appropriate duty was to risk their lives in defence of Canada against foreign foes, were called on to endure toils and wounds and death in a struggle against Canadian citizens, on Canadian soil, due to Canadian misgovernment. (Loud cheers.) We knew what their feelings must naturally be, and we saw, and rejoiced to see, how

NOBLY THEY DID THEIR HARD DUTY.

(Loud cheers.) We not sympathize with the volunteers ! Why, in their ranks are to be found to-day, I venture to affirm, the full proportion of Reformers ; there you would find our political friends, our personal friends, our sons, our brothers, our kinsmen, our connexions. (Cheers.) Take the case of the humble individual who speaks to you. Of the Ontario Law Society, of which I have the honour to be head, twenty-one members served in the Queen's Own and the Royal Grenadiers in the North-West. Out of the twenty-one, seven, one-third of the whole, were out of my office. (Cheers.) Of the commissioned officers in the Grenadiers on North-West service, one was from my office ; of those in the Queen's Own no less than four, one-fifth of the whole number on the strength, were from my office. Not only did seven men go out of my office,

TWO WENT OUT OF MY OWN HOME.

(Loud cheers.) Let them point to any other case in Canada like this, before they ask you to believe that we Reformers could be so unnatural as not to feel and show the deepest anxiety to quell the rebellion, and the deepest sympathy with our gallant volunteers ! (Cheers.) Our wives and daughters helped at home, and did all that women could to diminish the hardships of the men abroad, and of the dear ones they had left behind. (Cheers.) And yet we are to be told by these Tory monopolizers of loyalty, and public spirit, and patriotism, and sympathy, that we fostered the rebellion, and wished success to those who rose, and wounds and death to our own people ! (Tremendous cheers.) But you understand the object ; it is by any means, however vile, to avert your judgment on themselves ; and for that they resort to these base attacks on us. (Cheers.) *The rebellion over, the time came for judging our rulers* for their conduct. They have used every means to prevent that trial. As I have told you they have suppressed the papers. As I have told you, they have cast the blame on us. They have repeatedly cast it on the white settlers. But they determined to make a supreme effort to cast it wholly on Riel, not only to his condemnation, but also, and that is a very different thing, to their own exoneration. Order restored, they put the law in force, they proceeded to the trial, the conviction, the sentence, and the execution of Riel. And they have since proclaimed that their actions in that regard is the question to be tried—that, they say is the great issue ! (Cheers and laughter.) I cannot to-night discuss that question. You know my views. I

am ready to maintain them ; and I believe they are such as history will record as sound. I did not, and do not believe, that according to the settled principles of the administration of criminal justice, the Government in that respect did its duty. But whether I be right, or they, on that question, matters not one whit as to your verdict on the true issue, their responsibility for the rebellion. (Loud cheers.) I have never denied that there was treason on the banks of the Saskatchewan, amongst those half civilized, illiterate, misguided, but also much abused people. There was treason under the law. Nor have I ever contended that the circumstances afforded even a moral justification for a resort to arms, whatever palliation may exist by reason of their ill-treatment. *But I tell you that treason was not confined to the banks of the Saskatchewan.* (Cheers.) *There was treason on the banks of the Ottawa as well.* (Loud and prolonged applause.) There was treason there, not amongst poor, half-savage, uneducated, misled men, stung to madness by contempt, neglect, and the long denial of justice, starving and desperate, led astray, if you please, by agitators ;

THERE WAS TREASON AT OTTAWA

against the Queen's majesty, against the Canadian people, on the part of men in the highest place, men of the widest knowledge, men of the largest experience, men living at ease upon the people's taxes in order that they might do the people's work ! (Loud cheers.) I charge it on the pledged councillors of the Queen, on the men who wear her honours, on the men solemnly sworn so to advise Her Majesty, so to conduct the public affairs, as that her people should be well and wisely ruled, that justice should be done, that harmony and peace should mark her happy reign—I charge it on these men that they unpardonably violated that solemn oath, that they wantonly neglected their prime duty, that they left just claims unheeded for long years, that they gave the opportunity for rebellion, and so tarnished their sovereign's honour and betrayed their country's welfare ! (Tremendous cheering. Voices, " We will turn them out ! ") Aye, turn them out ! I have told them that in older and sterner days men far higher placed than they, peers of the British realm, have been attainted at the bar of the House of Lords, have stood in peril of life and limb, of freedom and estate, have been dishonoured and disgraced, and declared incapable of ever serving the Crown again ; for neglects of duty, and betrayals of trust, and violations of obligation far less flagrant ! (Cheers.) I have told them that our modern and milder age provides for crimes like theirs no adequate punishment ; that their only punishment will be the people's withdrawal of the power they

have abused! (Tremendous cheering.) Thus far only you can go. This only you can do. And this,

IF YOU ARE WORTHY OF YOUR FREEDOM,

this you will surely do! (A chorus of voices, "We will!" and thunders of applause.) But they have their plea. They plead, as an ample expiation for all their blunders and all their crimes, they plead the blood of Louis Riel! Let me recall to you a sequence of events. *Had there been no neglect, there would have been no rebellion; if no rebellion, no arrest; if no arrest, no trial; if no trial, no condemnation; if no condemnation, no execution!* (Loud cheers.) They, therefore, who are responsible for the first are responsible for every link in that fatal chain! (Renewed cheering.) And yet they tell you, "Because in the last event we have done our duty, because we have executed the man who headed the rebellion, you are not merely to sanction that last act, you are to do far more, you are to cast the mantle of oblivion over all our prior crimes, you are to give us that mercy and favourable consideration which we denied, you are to welcome us as innocent and worthy men, whose sins have been all washed white in the blood of Louis Riel." (Loud and prolonged applause.) But

EVEN THIS WAS NOT ENOUGH.

An effort has been made for more than a year past to divide Canadians on lines of race and creed, to the expected gain of the Tory party. For more than a year the fires of race hate, the fires of creed hate, have been assiduously fed and blown; and it has been proclaimed that the dividing lines must be found in origin and faith. In the fall of '85 we were told that the French and the Catholics were about to unite in solid column against the Government because of the execution of Riel; and that it was the bounden duty of us, English-speaking Protestants, to unite in solid column to oppose the Catholics and French. I shall not easily despair of my country; but if aught could fill me with despair as to its future, it would be such a situation as was described. That would, indeed, leave but little to hope for in the land we love. (Cheers.) We could not prosper or grow on such conditions; we must inevitably wither and die. (Renewed cheers.) Then, if this would be the deadliest blow to Canada, what is the measure of their guilt who invented the situation, in order to provoke it into existence? (Cheers.) It was not the real situation. In January, '86, at London, I explained the truth. *I pointed out that there was no such union of French and Catholics, as pretended; I pointed out that the Government was in no danger whatever on*

the question as pretended. Knowing, as I do, something of the political map of Canada—(cheers)—I declared not merely that the French and Catholics would be divided, but that the Liberals themselves,

THE OPPOSITION WOULD BE DIVIDED.

I declared that on this question, as one involving the administration of justice, and also as one into which an effort had been made to introduce issues of race and creed, I would see that the Liberal party should take no party line, should maintain no party connection, should act and vote entirely regardless of party, as each man, after hearing the evidence and argument, should for himself, guided by his own conscience decide to be right and just. (Cheers.) And the events verified my predictions; the French were divided; the Liberals were divided; the Government obtained a large majority; and then, forsooth, the Tories turned round and said, "How disappointed Mr. Blake must feel that he did not beat the Government on this Riel question." (Cheers and laughter.) *Of course, I was very much disappointed that my predictions had come true, while all theirs were falsified.* (Laughter.) But they had their reasons for the cry, and in one shape or another they have kept it up ever since. You find them declaring next that the Local Government of Quebec would be swept out of existence at the polls; and exciting Protestant alarm at such a result. And now they say that the Local Government has been sustained. (Laughter.) Then you find them saying that French Quebec would go solidly against the Dominion Government at the polls; and exciting the English speaking Protestants of all the Provinces to band together in revenge. And now some of them say the Ottawa Government will have a majority of Quebec. (Laughter.) Then you find a persistent attempt made to create odium in the minds of the English Protestants against the religious institutions of Quebec, institutions within her exclusive control, and with which we have no more right to meddle than they have with ours. (Cheers.) Then you find

A CRUSADE AGAINST THE FRENCH

as dominating over the English speaking Protestants of that Province, and a call to all Protestants everywhere to do something forcible, I know not what, for the relief of their brethren; once again, a thing beyond our control, a thing impossible to be achieved, save at the expense of the Confederation, impossible, even so, to be achieved. (Fremendous applause.) What we in Ontario value most in Confederation is our uncontrolled power to manage our local affairs—our measure of Home Rule. (Cheers.)

We cannot take that power from Quebec without surrendering it ourselves. (Renewed cheers.) The charter of our liberties is a common charter; it grants to all, it guards for all. Hold it as a sacred thing! Do not rashly propose to surrender to Ottawa any liberty you now enjoy uncontrolled! (Cheers.) The very agitation is dangerous—dangerous to that minority in whose professed interest it is started. Others are like ourselves; ill-disposed to yield to threat or force what we might gladly concede to kindly representation. I tell you, as I have said elsewhere, that this is our best, our only way of helping minorities elsewhere; this, and the influence of a good example, shown by ourselves in our treatment of the minorities of race and the minorities of creed amongst ourselves. (Great applause.) But that is not what these champions propose! Their further programme is one of

JEALOUSY AND SUSPICION, HOSTILITY AND RESTRICTION,

towards our own Ontario minorities, against whom for the last many months they have been endeavouring to arouse the latent bigotry and intolerance which they hope still subsists within our breasts. I trust in God that they will fail! (Cheers.) I trust that we Liberal Protestants will hold firm to the doctrines of civil and religious liberty, of equal rights, of fair play, tolerance, and liberality from the strong towards the weak. (Great cheers.) So may we speak trumpet-tongued, if need there be, for minorities elsewhere! So may we truly hope to help the weak of other Provinces, should they need our aid! I hope that the people of my native Province will rise to the occasion; that they will give on the 28th of December a decisive verdict on the tendered issues; and I believe that such a verdict will be the precursor of a righteous judgment to be soon delivered against the Government at Ottawa—(cheers)—A JUDGMENT ALL THE MORE SEVERE, A PUNISHMENT ALL THE GREATER, BECAUSE OF THE SHAMEFUL EFFORTS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE TO AVERT THE JUST DOOM OF THE OFFENDERS, EVEN BY THE RUIN OF THE STATE THEY RULE. (Thunders of applause.)



